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SRI MULAM TIRUNAL,
K. C. MANAVIKRAMAN RAJAH,
ZAMORIN OF CALICUT.

THE ZAMORINS OF CALICUT

(From the earliest times down to A. D. 1806)

BY

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FOREWORD

BY

J. A. THORNE Esq., I. C. S.



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1938.

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TO

Sri Mulam Tirunal K. C. Manavikraman Rajah,
ZAMORIN OF CALICUT,
138th from the founder of the dynasty.

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INTRODUCTION

The student of history knows the Zamorin as the Lord of the Kingdom where Vasco da Gama made his historic landing in A. D. 1498. The Zamorin's claim to an abiding place in the annals of his country does not, however, depend on this accident alone. For nearly nine hundred and fifty years, if not more, from at the latest A. D. 826 to 1766, he was the central figure in Kerala. For eight centuries he was the recognised *Raksha-purusha* or Protector of the *Mamakam*, the great national festival, held once in twelve years, at which the peoples and princes of Kerala offered homage and fealty to him. To him the people of Kerala owe the preservation and development of their arts and culture: in him literature and philosophy had a generous and discriminating patron.

The history of the Zamorins as rulers may be divided into two parts, the arrival of Vasco da Gama from Europe marking off the one from the other. The first part rests mainly upon well-established and recorded tradition. As the sources on which this part is based are not easily accessible, and most of them are in imminent danger of disappearing altogether, the more important of them are printed as footnotes. The authorities relied upon for the second part are also indicated in the footnotes, so that the reader may refer to them for fuller information.

A pioneer work of this kind must necessarily contain many imperfections and gaps. The examination of foreign authorities is not claimed to have been exhaustive, though all that are important and available here have been largely drawn upon. And a diligent search in the archives of the chieftains and vassals who had followed the Zamorin in his wars and conquests may yet bring to light much that is valuable and interesting.

For want of types with the necessary diacritical marks the standard transliteration has not been adopted. Proper nouns, when they appear for the first time, are printed in Malayalam also in the footnotes.

The typographical errors that are unfortunately found in the text and notes are too obvious to need a separate *corrigenda*. Two errors of fact have, however, crept in. In line 19 on page 10 'Ayilyam' must be substituted for 'Puyam', and in note 1 on page 133 'who was born' for 'which was composed'.

I take this opportunity to express my obligations to the present Zamorin, not only for the help and encouragement I have received from him during the preparation of this book, but also for kindly permitting me to associate his name with it by accepting its dedication.

I tender my sincere thanks to Mr. J. A. Thorne, I. C. S., for the distinction he has lent to this book by his invaluable Foreword.

Calicut,
December 1938.

K. V. KRISHNA AYYAR

FOREWORD

It is many years now since my close connection with the affairs of the Zamorin ended. During, and for some time after, the interesting years of that connection, I dallied with the hope of some day sitting down to the task which Mr. Krishna Ayyar has now completed. But more leisure was needed than I could find: the mass of literature to be studied and used was formidable and some of it was inaccessible to the student in India. Mr. Krishna Ayyar would be the first to admit the gaps in his list of authorities. But it would be ungracious, and ungrateful, to dwell on defects inseparable from work done at a distance from the great libraries. To compensate for them the reader will here find collected much of value from indigenous sources. If I may say so, Mr. Krishna Ayyar has used this material (often difficult and intractable) with nice discrimination. I might instance his account of the Mamakam—in which he has not hesitated (page 92) to correct the too fruitful fancy of Sir James Frazer.

The story of the Zamorins is of peculiar interest to all Europeans who have known Malabar: both because of the part those rulers played for centuries in that impact of the west on the east which has developed into the politics of our own day, and also for a more personal reason. We foreigners who have lived and worked in Kerala hold ourselves to be singularly fortunate: whatever else India may come to mean for us, we remember with gratitude and affection the country and people whose civilisation is bound up with the dynasty of the Zamorins.

Of the Zamorins whom I have known I may be permitted to pay a tribute to the gentle and honourable memory of him who held the sthanam from 1915 to 1928: and to the strong sense of duty which guided the life of the Zamorin of 1931—1937. The present Zamorin will perhaps allow me to recall a friendship which dates back to days when he was almost as junior in the svarupam as I in the service.

New Delhi,
December 1938.

J. A. THORNE

THE HISTORY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of the growth of a great nation from a small colony of English settlers. The first settlers came to the New World in 1492, and the first permanent English colony was founded in 1607. The colonies grew and developed, and in 1776 they declared their independence from Great Britain. The new nation was faced with many challenges, but it emerged as a powerful and free country. The history of the United States is a story of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity.

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PRELIMINARY

CHAPTER I

THE NEDIYIRUPPU SVARUPAM

The original seat of the Zamorin's family was Nediyruppu, ¹ a village in the Ernad Taluk of the present Malabar District. The head of the house was known as Nediyruppu Mutta Eradi, ² a title which is now enjoyed by the fifth in rank from the Zamorin. Under the Chera rulers of Tiruvanchikkulam the Mutta Eradi governed Ernad with the title of Ernad Utaiyar ³. When Cheraman Perumal partitioned his empire and abdicated, the Ernad Utaiyar, like the other provincial governors, became a Svarupi ⁴ or independent king, and his family came to be called the Nediyruppu Svarupam.

The members of the Nediyruppu Svarupam belong to the Eradi ⁵ subdivision of the Samanta ⁶ section of the Nayar race. The Samantas were, as the word indicates, feudatories or Naduvalis ⁷ under the imperial Cheras. They formed the aristocracy of the land, an aristocracy based upon birth and office. It is not certain whether Eradi is a tribal name or it is derived from Ernad. The evidence of comparative history is in favour of the former rather than of the latter.

1 നെടിയിരിപ്പു. 2 നെടിയിരിപ്പു മുത്ത ഏറാടി. 3 ഏറനാട്ടു മേലേയർ. 4 സ്വരൂപി. The chief Svarupams of Kerala are Nediyruppu or the Zamorin, Arangottu (അറങ്ങോട്ടു) or Valluvanad, Perim-padappu (പെരിമ്പടപ്പു) or Cochin, Trippappur (തൃപ്പാപ്പൂർ) or Travancore, Kurumbiyatiri (കുറുമ്പിയാതിരി) or Kurumbaranad, Puranattukara (പുറന്നാട്ടുകര) or Kottayam, Kolattiri (കോലത്തിരി) or Chirakkal, Porlatiri (പൊർളാതിരി) or Kadattanad, Tarur (തരൂർ) or Palghat, Pappu Kovil (പാപ്പുകോവിൽ) or Beypore, and Parappu Kovil (പാറപ്പുകോവിൽ) or Parappanad. 5 ഏറാടി. 6 സാമന്തർ. The Maha Samantas or the great nobles were eight in number: the governors of Ernad, Venad, Onad, Konad, Kodikkunninad, Kolattunad, Polanad, Tekkan-cum-Vatakkankur. 7 നാടുവാഴി, who must have at least 100 Nayars under him.

Like the Nayars, the Samantas trace their descent and inheritance through the female, the children belong to the caste and family of the mother, and the oldest male member is the head of the family and represents it in its relations with others. They are, however, distinguished from the Nayars by their higher social status,¹ and the strict rule of hypergamy which compels a woman to have *Sambandham*² with one belonging to a caste superior to hers.

When the Zamorin conquered Polanad, his family abandoned its ancestral house at Nediyruppu and transferred its residence to Vikramapuram,³ founded by him in commemoration of his victory. The Ampati Kovilakam⁴ or the palace of the princesses or Tampurattis⁵ was built west of Tali⁶ in its immediate vicinity. The seniormost Tampuratti was called Nediyruppu Mutta Kovil⁷, and the next in age Elaya Kovil⁸.

The Zamorin's palace stood about a furlong north of the Ampati Kovilakam, separated from it by an extensive garden still registered in the revenue records as Puntottam⁹. It was both a Koyil¹⁰ or palace and a Kotta¹¹ or fort. Hence the town that grew up under its protection came to be called Koyilkotta,¹² corrupted into Kolikod¹³ (Calicut), its original name of Vikramapuram utterly forgotten and preserved only in the mouldy records of the Zamorin's state visits to Calicut. When Haidar Ali of Mysore surrounded this palace in A. D. 1766, the Zamorin set fire to it, preferring

¹ For example, the members of the Zamorin's family enjoy the right of *Pantibhojanam* or sitting for meals along with the Brahmins. ² സംബന്ധം a system of marriage with absolute freedom of separation for husband and wife alike. ³ വിക്രമപുരം or തൃവിക്രമപുരം. ⁴ അമ്പാടി കോവിലകം. ⁵ തമ്പുരാട്ടി. ⁶ തലി, in Tamil it means a temple of Siva. Tali was the centre of the new town. ⁷ നെടിയിരിപ്പു ഭൂത കോവിൽ. ⁸ ഏളയ കോവിൽ. ⁹ പുന്തോട്ടം. ¹⁰ കോയിൽ. ¹¹ കോട്ട. ¹² കോയിൽകോട്ട. ¹³ കോഴിക്കോട്.

honourable suicide to cowardly submission. On its site, still known as Kottapparamba ¹ now stand the Women and Children's Hospital and the Huzur Office. Mananchira, ² the great tank opposite the Huzur Office, derives its name from Manaviyadan ³ Zamorin.

In course of time, as the family increased and the power of the Zamorin expanded, new palaces were constructed. First rose the Kilakke Kovilakam ⁴ or the eastern palace in Chintavalappu, north of the present Zamorin's College; then came into existence the Putiya Kovilakam ⁵ or the new palace, west of the Tali tank. The former has completely disappeared without leaving any trace behind it; the ruins of the latter, its ancient gateway and the stone steps leading into the tank, are, however, still visible.

A Tampuratti of the Kilakke Kovilakam had *Sambandham* with Chalappurattu Nambutiri. ⁶ As he had no heirs he made a gift of all his property including his own *illom* or house to the Tampuratti. A palace was built on the site of the old *illom*, and it came to be known as the Chalappurattu Kovilakam. ⁷ For a long time the members of the Kilakke Kovilakam continued to call themselves Chalappurattu Kovilakattu Tampurans. ⁸ Why and when they abandoned this name in favour of the original Kilakke Kovilakam it is not possible now to say.

¹ കോട്ടപ്പറമ്പ്. ² മാനഞ്ചിറ. ³ മാനവിയദൻ. ⁴ കിഴക്കെ കോവിലകം. ⁵ പുതിയ കോവിലകം. ⁶ ചാലപ്പുറത്തു നയ്യതിരി. ⁷ ചാലപ്പുറത്തു കോവിലകം. ⁸ ചാലപ്പുറത്തു കോവിലകത്തു തമ്പുരൻ.

Chalappurattu Kovilakattu Valia Tampuran is mentioned as one of those who were present in the palace when the Zamorin died in A. D. 1666. In the accounts of 1666 and 1667 we have the following entries:—

1666 For <i>Punyaham</i> (പുണ്യാഹം) for Chalappurattu Kovilakattu Tampurattis	4 Fanams.
1667 To Cook Raman of Chalappurattu Kovilakam	2 Fanams.
To Cook Rama Pattar of Putiya Kovilakam	2 Fanams.

In the thirteenth century a Tampuratti elected to go away with a prince of the Kola Svarupam ¹ without the knowledge and consent of the Zamorin. The Zamorin disinherited her, and compelled the Kolattiri ² to cede all his lands as far as Pantalayini Kollam³ and settle the Tampuratti at Nileswaram with all sovereign rights and 3000 Nayars.

About A. D. 1550 the family was threatened with extinction ⁴. On the advice of the Brahmins the Zamorin instituted the monthly *Tiruvonam* feast. The gods were pleased and the Tiruvonam Tirunal Maharajah, known also as Saktan Tampuran, was born. ⁵ In the reign of Bharani Tirunal Maharajah, the hero of the *Mamamak Kilippattu* and the terror of the Dutch, adoption became once more a pressing problem. In spite of the most expensive and elaborate ceremonies the gods remained obdurate. So, in A. D. 1704, negotiations were opened for the adoption of two Tampurattis from Tekkankur. But the Maharajah died too soon, before the negotiations were completed. His successor gave up the Tekkankur project and turned to Nileswaram. On the 16th of Makaram 881 M. E., correspond-

¹ കോലസ്വരൂപം (Chirakkal). ² കോലത്തിരി. ³ പന്തലായിനി കോല്ലം. ⁴ Zeinuddin says that the Zamorin adopted a member of Vatakkankur as the Fourth Prince of his family. The passage is however obscure. (The *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 147)

⁵ കൊല്ലവും എഴുന്തറിയേലായ്ക്കുന്നിതു പുന-

രില്ല സന്തതി കലത്തികലായതു കണ്ടു

നല്ലതെന്തിനിക്കിനി സന്തതിയുണ്ടാവാനെ

നുള്ളതു ഭൂമിദേവന്മാരോടു ചോദിച്ചു തുപൻ

ഭൂസുന്മാരും വിചാരിച്ചു ചൊല്ലിനാരെല്ലാ

മാസങ്ങൾതോറും തിരുവോണങ്ങളിടവാൻ

താപവുമൊഴിഞ്ഞതുകേട്ടവലാസ്തീയീശപരൻ

ശ്രീപതിനക്ഷത്രങ്ങളിടീടിനാൻമുപ്പാണ്ടപ്പൊരാ

വാസുദേവർ രക്ഷതന്നെ ജനിച്ചുകമാരനും.

(The *Mamamak Kilippattu*, p. 33.)

ing to A. D. 1706, two Tampurattis and three Tampurans were adopted from the Nileswaram family. In appearance it was only a family reunion; in reality it was a suicidal blunder. Had the Tekkankur adoption taken place, as Bharani Tirunal had intended, Cochin might have been overwhelmed, the Dutch beaten to their knees, Martanda Varma bridled and the fatal crisis of A. D. 1760-66 wholly averted.

The elder of the two adopted sisters was installed in the Kilakke Kovilakam, the younger in the Putiya Kovilakam. For the Mamakam of A. D. 1707 their sister came to Calicut. She did not like to go back to Nileswaram. And the Zamorin, who had already thrown away the political and strategic advantages of the Tekkankur alliance by his attachment to the Nileswaram family, recognised her also as a Tampuratti of Nediyruppu, and conferred upon her all the privileges enjoyed by her sisters, including the right of succession to the musnad for her sons. A separate residence was assigned to her. Thus came into existence the Padinnare Kovilakam,¹ so called from its situation in relation to the Tali temple.

When Calicut was finally occupied by the Mysoreans in A. D. 1774 the members of the Zamorin's family, except the Ravi Varma, uncle and nephew, took refuge in Travancore. The members of the Padinnare and Putiya Kovilakams lived at

¹ പടിഞ്ഞാറെ കോവിലകം. It was also called Tekke Kovilakam from its situation in respect of the Ampati Kovilakam. The practice of the Joint Commissioners (1792-93) led however to the final abandonment of this name.

In the *granthavaris* this Kovilakam is referred to only as Padinnare Kovilakam. It is mentioned for the first time in A. D. 1761-2. It is stated that the Zamorin was accompanied by the Padinnare Kovilakam Valia Tampuran in his pilgrimage to Cape Comorin in A. D. 1761-2.

Kunnattur ¹ with the Zamorin who belonged to the Putiya Kovilakam, while those of the Kilakke Kovilakam went to Ennekkat ². In A. D. 1792 when Tippu ceded Malabar to the English, the exiles returned from Travancore. As their palaces had all been defiled and in part demolished by the Mysoreans, the members of the Padinnare Kovilakam settled at Mankavu ³, of the Putiya Kovilakam at Tiruvannur ⁴ and of the Kilakke Kovilakam at Venkatakotta ⁵, which had been in their possession since its capture from Karuvayur Mussad.

The Zamorin made no attempt to reconstruct the Mananchira Palace. He preferred to live in the Kovilakam to which he belonged. In A. D. 1926 was built his present palatial residence at Tiruvacchira, which the Zamorin's family had obtained, as early as A. D. 1687, ⁶ as a gift from Pappu Kovil, who had *Sambandham* with the Ampadi Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti.

The *Namakaranam* ⁷ and *Annaprasanam* ⁸ of the children are performed in the sixth month after their birth. The Tampurattis are named Sridevi and Mahadevi ⁹ and the Tampurans Manavikraman, Manaviyadan and Virarayan. ¹⁰ Those who bear the same name are distinguished by pet names; the Tampurettis are called Anujatti, Kunhianujatti, and Jyeshtatti, ¹¹ and the Tampurans Ettan, Kunhettan, Kuttiettan, Cheriyyettan, Kunhunni, Kuttikkunhunni, Kuttuni, Anujan, Cherianujan, Ammaman and Marumakan. ¹² To avoid confusion between members having the same pet name prefixes like Valia and Cheria ¹³ are also employed.

¹ കുന്നത്തൂർ. ² എണ്ണക്കാട്. ³ മങ്കാവ്. ⁴ തിരുവണ്ണൂർ. ⁵ വെങ്കടക്കാട്, the present Kottakkal (കോട്ടക്കൽ). ⁶ This palace is mentioned in the account of the Zamorin's visit to Calicut in 1687. ⁷ നാമകരണം or the naming ceremony. ⁸ അന്നപ്രാശനം, feeding ceremony. ⁹ ശ്രീദേവി, മഹാദേവി. ¹⁰ മാനവിക്രമൻ, മാനവിയൻ, വിരരായൻ. ¹¹ അനുജത്തി, കഞ്ഞിഅനുജത്തി, ജ്യേഷ്ഠത്തി. ¹² എട്ടൻ, കഞ്ഞെട്ടൻ, കുട്ടിയെട്ടൻ, ചെറിയെട്ടൻ, കഞ്ഞണ്ണി, കുട്ടികഞ്ഞണ്ണി, കുട്ടണ്ണി, അനുജൻ, ചെറിയനുജൻ, അമ്മാമൻ, മമ്മാമൻ. ¹³ വലിയ, ചെറിയ.

Whatever the name of the Zamorin, he is styled in all formal correspondence as follows :—Srimatu Sakalaguna sampannarana Sakaladharma paripalakarana Mitrajana manoran-jitarana Akhandita lakshmi prasannarana Raja manya Raja Sri Manavikrama Zamorin Maharaja Bahadur Avargal. ¹

The education of the children begins when they are five years old. Desamangalam Variar ² is the hereditary tutor. The Tampurans live with their mothers and sisters in the Ampati till their Choulam ³ in the fifteenth year. After Choulam, in ancient days, they learnt fencing with its eighteen throws under Tamme Panikkar, ⁴ the hereditary instructor-in-arms, after which they either accompanied their elders to the battle-field or served their apprenticeship in civil government under them.

The Talikettu kalyanam ⁵ of the Tampurattis takes place in their ninth or eleventh year before they attain puberty. The Tali is tied by a member of the Cranganore Rajah's family. ⁶ After the Tirantukalyanam the ⁷ Zamorin selects a suitable

¹ ശ്രീമതു സകലഗുണസമ്പന്നനാ ന സകലധർമ്മപരിപാലകനാ മിത്രജനമനോരഞ്ജിതനാ അവസ്ഥിതലക്ഷ്മീപ്രസന്നനാ രാജമാന്യരാജാ ശ്രീ മാനവിക്രമ സാമുതിരി മഹാരാജാബഹദൂർ അവർകൾ
² ദേശമംഗലം വാരിയർ ³ ചെറളം, tonsure-ceremony.

⁴ തമ്മെ പണിക്കർ, who now receives from the Zamorin an annual pension of Rs. 102-14-0

⁵ താലികെട്ടു കല്യാണം, the Tali tying wedding. The essential part of the ceremony is the tying of the Tali (a small piece of gold attached to a string) round the neck of the girl.

⁶ For this reason, Gollennesse, the Dutch Commandeur of Cochin in A. D. 1743, calls the Cranganore Rajah "the Father of the Zamorin family". (Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 63.)

⁷ തിരുണ്ടു കല്യാണം, puberty ceremony.

husband for them. According to the principle of hypergamy this must be a Nambutiri or Kshatriya. Formerly they were generally chosen, for political and strategic reasons, from the Kshatriya Svarupams of Bettam, Kurumbranad, Beypore and Cranganore, ¹ though, now and then, Nambutiris also came in for the distinction. The education of the Tampurattis continue even after their *Sambandham*, and two of them, both named Manorama, ² belonging to the Kilakke Kovilakam, are still remembered for their proficiency in Sanskrit grammar.

The seniormost Tampuratti in all the three Kovilakams taken together is now called the Ampati Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti ³. The Zamorin, whatever his age and exact relation to her, calls her "mother" ⁴ and pays her all the respects due to a mother. The oldest Tampuratti in each of the three Kovilakams is its Valia Tampuratti ⁵. In conjunction with the Valia Tampuram she manages the affairs of her Kovilakam ⁶. The Ampati Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti now draws a malik-hana or political pension of Rs 4500 *per annum* in her own right, and each of the three Valia Tampurattis Rs 9,000 as the representatives of their respective Kovilakams.

¹ വെട്ടം, കുറുമ്പനാട, ബെപ്പൂർ (പാപ്പുകോവിൽ) കൊട്ടങ്ങല്ലൂർ. From Kurumbiyatiri the Zamorin obtained Payyanad and Mangat Acchan, from Pappu Kovil Tiruvacchira.

² മനോരമ തമ്പുരാട്ടി.

³ അമ്പാടി കോവിലകം വലിയ തമ്പുരാട്ടി. ⁴ അമ്മ. ⁵ വലിയ തമ്പുരാട്ടി.

⁶ This is peculiar; for, in all other families regulated, by *Marum-ikkattayam* law the Karanavan or the oldest male member is the manager, the seniormost lady having no voice in the management. When the Tampurattis affix their signature to any document they prefix Viyaten (വിയടേൻ) to their names, e. g., Viyateu Sridevi.

Among the Tampurans there were at first only two Stanams ¹ or dignities, Muppu ² or the chief and Elaya ³ or the second in rank. In course of time three more came into existence. All these five Stanams have even now separate estates of their own and Ariyittuvalcha ⁴. The first three were in ancient days Kurvalchas ⁵ also. They exercised ruling powers; they were styled "Princes of Ernad"; they enjoyed the privileges of "standing in state" ⁶ during the Mamakam ⁷ festival at Tirunavayi. Even now whenever they go out damsels sprinkle water before them ⁸; and they have each their Bhagavati and their peculiar emblem.

The sixth prince was known as Elaya Eradi Tirumulpad ⁹; it was only a courtesy title, having neither special rights nor responsibilities. The British Government did not recognise it when the pensions of the Zamorin's family were fixed in A. D. 1806, and in consequence it has dropped out of use altogether.

The seniormost member of each of the Kovilakams who is not a Stani ¹⁰ is its Valia Tampuran ¹¹. To protect the interests of the Tampurattis the Valia Tampuratti is associated with him in the management of the Kovilakam affairs, the principle of collegiality affording a check on, if not a guarantee against, abuse of authority. In the Kilakke Kovilakam, however, the oldest male member does not divest himself of the management of the Kovilakam even after he becomes the Zamorin.

The five Stanams are :—

(1) Samutiri Tirumulpad; ¹²

¹ സ്ഥാനം ² മുപ്പ. ³ ഏല. ⁴ അരിയിട്ടുവാള. ⁵ കൂടാവാള, entitled to a share in the government by virtue of seniority. ⁶ നിലപാടു നില്പുക. ⁷ മാമകം. ⁸ മുന്നിൽതളി, Munnil Tali, seven damsels sprinkle water before the Zamorin, five before the second prince and three before the third prince ⁹ ഏലയെ ഏറാടി. തിരുമുല്പാടു. (Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore etc.*, Vol. II, p. 394.) ¹⁰ സ്ഥാനി, one who is in possession of a Stanam. ¹¹ വലിയ തമ്പുരാൻ. ¹² സാമുതിരി തിരുമുല്പാടു.

- (2) Ernad Elamkur Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad ; ¹
- (3) Ernad Munamkur Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad ; ²
- (4) Edattaranad Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad ; ³
- (5) Netiyiruppil Mutta Eradi Tirumulpad. ⁴

The Edattaranad Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad and the Nedi-yiruppu Mutta Eradi Tirumulpad are generally called Eda-tralpad ⁵ and Nedutralpad ⁶ respectively. As has been already remarked, they are only Stanams, not Kurvalchas. During the Mamakam festival they performed Akampati ⁷ or escort duty, the former on the asterism of Bharani, ⁸ the latter on that of Asvati⁹.

The Munamkur Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad is generally known as Munalpad. His chief duty was to guard the southern frontier. As he was always on active service and marching from one place to another according to the needs of the situa-tion, the umbrella with a cloth tied to it not inappropriately be-came his emblem. At the Mamakam festival his Akampati took place on the asterism of Kartika,¹⁰ and he "stood in state" under the Kuriyal ¹¹ on the day of Puyam.¹² He had also to preside over the annual Revati Pattattanam ¹³ at Calicut.

The Ernad Elamkur Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad or Eralpad¹⁴ had a palace at Calicut, still called Erampiri Kovilakam, ¹⁵ south of the Ampati Kovilakam. As he took an active part in the campaign which resulted in the occupation of Tirunavayi the Zamorin granted him certain important privileges at the Mamakam festival. While the Zamorin and the other Stanis took up their residence on the right bank of the river during the festival, the Eralpad's tent was pitched on the left bank ;

¹ ഏറനാടു ഏലംകുറ നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമുൽപാടു. ² ഏറനാടു മുന്നംകുറ നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമുൽപാടു. ³ എടത്തറനാടു നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമുൽപാടു. ⁴ മനടിയിരുപ്പിൽ മുത്ത ഏറാടി തിരുമുൽപാടു. ⁵ എടത്രാൾപാടു. ⁶ നെടുത്രാൾപാടു. ⁷ അകമ്പടി. ⁸ ഭരണി. ⁹ അശ്വതി. ¹⁰ കാർത്തിക. ¹¹ കൂരിയൽ, the stunted banyan tree. ¹² പൂയം. ¹³ രേവതിപ്പട്ടത്താനം. ¹⁴ ഏരാൾപാടു. ¹⁵ ഏറായിരി കോവിലകം.

and whenever the Zamorin "stood in state" at Vakayur ¹ the Eralpad did likewise on his bank of the river. He had also the duty of Akampati, which came on the day of Robini. ² On the last day of the festival he left his quarters in the company of Tirumanasseri Nambiyatiri, ³ a Brahmin chief, and came on elephant-back or in the litter inlaid with ivory to the Kuriyal. There he dismounted and proceeded on foot towards Vakayur, performing *Sashtangam* ⁴ or prostration with the eight limbs at certain spots along the route. At the command of the Zamorin he ascended the Manittara ⁵ and stood on his right side. Then the Lokar ⁶ or the Ten Thousand ⁷ and the Thirty Thousand ⁸ led by Mangat Acchan ⁹ and Ernad Menon ¹⁰ approached the *dais* on which the Zamorin and the Eralpad were standing and made their obeisance.

The most important achievement of the Eralpad, however, was the conquest of Nedunganad. As it lay between the Vellatri ¹¹ and Tarur ¹² Svarupams, both of whom were hostile, the Zamorin deemed it necessary to place it in the charge of a prince of the family. So the Eralpad was appointed its governor with his headquarters at Karimpula ¹³. His minister was Cheruli Acchan ¹⁴ and his secretary Punnasseri Nambi ¹⁵. As a mark of respect for Ramaswami, the presiding deity of Karipula, the Eralpad adopted the flag with the sign of Hanuman as his emblem.

The head of the house, Samutiri Tirumulpad, is generally called Samuri ¹⁶ by the people. And Samuri was transformed into Zamorin by the Europeans. When the Zamorin was a ruling chief the English East India Company scrupulously paid him all the honours due to an independent sovereign. They always addressed him as "Your Majesty", sent him presents for

1 വാകയൂർ. 2 രോഹിണി. 3 തിരുമനാശ്ശേരി നമ്പിയാതിരി. 4 സഷ്ടാംഗം.

5 മണിത്തറ, the platform on which the Zamorin stood in state. 6 ലോകർ. 7 പതിനായിരം. 8 മുപ്പതിനായിരം. 9 മങ്ങാട്ടച്ചൻ.

10 എറണാകുളം മേനോൻ. 11 വെള്ളൂട്ടിരി. 12 തരൂർ. 13 കരിമ്പുള.

14 ചെറുള അച്ചൻ. 15 പുന്നശ്ശേരിനമ്പി, 16 സാമൂരി.

Onam ¹ and Vishu, ² and whenever there took place a change in succession they formally waited upon the new Zamorin in the customary way with Tirumukalcha ³. In 1806 the Zamorin resigned the government of the territories entrusted to him in 1793. But as late as 1860 we find the Government of Madras referring to him as His Highness, though he had ceased to be a ruling chief. In this year they ordered ⁴ their servants in Malabar not to withhold from him the usual marks of respect.

According to the etiquette observed in the royal houses of Malabar no correspondence except what is private and personal may be addressed to the head of the Svarupam ⁵. All letters to the Zamorin are addressed to Talappana Nambutiri, ⁶ the head-priest of his private chapel, with a request that the contents of the letter may be communicated to the Zamorin at his royal convenience by Olukil Menon, ⁷ the hereditary record-keeper or Mangat Acchan, ⁸ the chief minister.

The word Samuri or Tamuri, which is its older form, is not found in any record prior to A. D. 1442. Though Ibn Batuta, the envoy of Muhammad Bin Taghlak of Delhi, visited Calicut three times on his way to China between A. D. 1342 and 1347, he does not refer to the Zamorin even once by this

1 ഓണം. 2 വിഷു. 3 തിരുമുൽ കോട്ട. The Calicut factor proceeded to the palace with a dozen or two of the Company's soldiers and placed his presents before the Zamorin. They must be worth not less than Rs. 180. "The Zamorin's stipulated present is sixty Narradys in tale, which is about One Hundred and Eighty silver rupees." (The *Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XII, p. 18). ⁴ G. O. No. 775 dated 14th May 1860.

⁵ "When the Zamorin writes to the Rajah of Cochin, or any of the superior princes to each other, the letter must be addressed not to the prince but to the chief Rasidoor, who in Cochin is called the Naicoviti, and the chief Rasidoor of the Zamorin is called the Mangatatja." (Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter XIII.)

⁶ തലപ്പണനമ്പൂതിരി. ⁷ ഒഴുകൽമേനോൻ. ⁸ മങ്ങാട്ടച്ചൻ.

title. It is in the account of Abdur Razak, who came to Calicut in 1442 as the special envoy of the King of Persia, that we first come across this word. "The sovereign of this city", says he, "bears the title of Sameri" ¹.

Some learned scholars regard Samuri as a loan word from Arabic or Persian, the meaning of which has now been completely forgotten ². Abdur Razak's statement does not lend support to this view. And Barbosa, ³ Barros, ⁴ Camoens, ⁵ Laval, ⁶ and Moens, ⁷ all these explain the word as meaning emperor in the language of the people.

1. Major, *India in the fifteenth century*, p. 14.

2. For example, Kavatilakan Rao Sabib Ullur Parameswara Ayyar.

3. "The King of Calicut made himself the greatest and the most powerful of all in Malabar, and they called him Samidre, which is a distinction above the others". (*Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 5.)

4. "I he place, though small, he (Cheraman Perumal) wished to give to a nephew, who was his favourite, and as a new name of power over the rest he called him Samorij, as it might be emperor amongst us". (Barros quoted in the Appendix to the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II)

5. "This he confers with title excellent,

Of Emperor that the rest he may command

.....

Hence came a title Samorin, in intent

Among them all of dignity more grand". (Camoens, *The Lusiads*, VII, 36.)

6. "He is called Samory by all the Indians, a word of great weight in their language and equivalent to emperor". (*The Voyage of Pyrrard de Laval*, Vol. I, p. 369.)

7. "The Zamorin was the most powerful and the most wealthy of the four kingdoms of Malabar. For this reason the Zamorin formerly let himself be styled emperor". (Moens, trans. by Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 132.)

In Sanskrit there is a word which means emperor. It is Svami.¹ It is used in some inscriptions to denote emperor as distinguished from king². In Tamil and Malayalam Svami becomes Tami, Sami, Chami, Tamu, Samu, and Chamu³. Hence there is no doubt that Samu in Samuri is derived from Svami.

Ri at the end of the word stands for Tiri⁴. According to Caldwell,⁵ Tiri is a corruption of Sri⁶. But the honorific Tirumulpad⁷ figuring in the titles of the four princes below the Zamorin suggests that Tiri must be a contraction of Tirumulpad. In Samutiri Tirumulpad of the *granthavaris* we have a double honorific, which can be explained on the analogy of the double plurals and superlatives of the English language. Samuri is therefore a contracted compound of the Sanskrit Svami and Tirumulpad.⁸

Kunnalkkonatiri⁹ is another title of the Zamorin. With out the honorific Tiri it means king (kon) of the hills (kunnu) and the waves (ala). When the Zamorin prostrates before Alvancheri Tamprakkal¹⁰ at his Ariyittuvalecha, this religious dignitary blesses him with the words "Reign as Kunnalakkon-tiri." Sailabdhiswara¹¹ and Samudragiriraja¹² are the exact Sanskrit equivalents of the Malayalam Kunnalakkon.

¹ स्वामि, സ്വാമി. ² Chashtana, whose father was only a Kshaharata Kshatrapa, styled himself on the strength of certain victories and conquests Rajan Mahakshatrapa Svami Chashtana. ³ താമി, സാമി, ചാമി, താമു, സാമു, ചാമു. ⁴ തിരി. ⁵ *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. ⁶ ശ്രീ. ⁷ തിരുമുല്പാദ. ⁸ (i) Svami (സ്വാമി) > Samu (സാമു.) (ii) Tirumulpad (തിരുമുല്പാദ) > Tiruppad (തിരുപ്പാദ) > Tirippad (തിരിപ്പാദ) > Tiri (തിരി) > Ri (രി).

⁹ കുന്നലക്കോനതിരി. ¹⁰ ആറ്റുവേലി തമ്പ്രാക്കൽ. ¹¹ ശൈലാഭിഷര: ശൈലാഭിഷാകൻ. ¹² സമുദ്രഗിരി രാജാ

This is not a mere fancy title as has been supposed ¹. Though the Zamorin had no organised navy of his own like the Royal Navy of England, he could at any time assemble a fleet to defend his coast. Like the cinque ports of mediaeval England his coast towns furnished him with ships and transports. He took a keen interest in navigation. Among the penates of his house kept at Tiruvalayanad is a Bhagavati called Kappalotta Bhagavati ². The Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century admit that the Calicut sailors knew the use of certain naval instruments which were unknown in Europe. His prolonged warfare with the Portuguese is itself sufficient evidence to show that his power on the sea was by no means negligible.

In the Mamakam Kilippattu ³ and the Keralolpatti ⁴ he is called Punturakkon or Punturesan, ⁵ king (kon) or lord (isan) of Puntura. The first treaty which the English made with him, the very first alliance which they concluded in India, begins with "(P) Undercoon Cheet." ⁶ In A. D. 1752 the Danish East India Company received certain trading rights from "King Samoorin Punderracon" ⁷. The writs appointing Kalattil Acchan ⁸ and Chalapurattu Nalamkur Nayar ⁹ in A. D. 1869 begin with the words "Punturakkon Teet". ¹⁰

Puntura ¹¹ is generally explained as a corruption of the Tamil Perumturai ¹² or great (Perum) harbour (turai). But it seems better to derive this word from the Arabic Bantar ¹³

¹ See Mr. Thorne's Appendix to the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II. ² കപ്പലാട്ട ഭഗവതി or the Bhagavati presiding over navigation. ³ ലാങ്ക കിളിപ്പാട്ട. ⁴ കേരളാല്പതി. ⁵ പുത്തറക്കോൻ, പുത്തറക്കൻ. ⁶ Day, *The Land of the Perumals*, p. 177. ⁷ Logan *A collection of treaties etc.* p. 103. ⁸ കളത്തിൽ അച്ചൻ. ⁹ ചാലപ്പുറത്തു നാലാച്ചൻ നായർ. ¹⁰ പുത്തറക്കോൻതിട്ട. ¹¹ പുത്തറ. ¹² പെരുന്തുറൈ. ¹³ ബന്തർ.

meaning port ; for Calicut owes its importance as a port to the arrival and settlement of the Arabs. Further, the Muhammadan farmer of the customs at the port is called Sabautra Koya ¹ or the Koya of the port. It is probable that the Arabs were the first to refer to the King of Calicut by the title of Punturakkon.

It is also quite possible that Puntura is another form of Puntara². Puntara might have been the name of the Tara or village in which the family-house of Netiyiruppu was situated.

The Joint Commissioners who settled Malabar in A. D. 1792-93 identified Puntura with Periudurai ³ near Erode in the Coimbatore District. If at all this word has any reference to any port other than Calicut, it must be in all probability Tirupurnatura, ⁴ the residence of the Cochin Rajahs. For a long time, till A. D. 1504, the Zamorin was the lord of Cochin, and the Cochin Rajah paid tribute and Purushantaram ⁵, and his succession had to be recognised by his Calicut suzerain. In A. D. 1616, when the Zamorin made an alliance with the English, in A. D. 1685, when the Kilippatu was composed, and in A. D. 1752, when the Danes were granted permission to erect a factory, the Zamorin was either actually engaged in or contemplating a war with Cochin. And the assumption of this title on these occasions might have had the same significance as the revival of the title of "King of France" by the successors of Edward III of England whenever they decided upon an expedition across the English Channel.

¹ സാബൗത്രകോയ. ² പുന്തറ ³ പെരുന്തറ. (*The Joint Commissioners' Report, A. D. 1792-93.*)

⁴ തിരുപൂർണത്തറ.

⁵ പുരുഷാന്തരം, succession fee.

TIRUVANTALI AND ARIYITTUVALCHA.

In ancient days a large part of the Zamorin's revenue was spent on ceremonies, feasts and festivals. Though Hiranyagarbham¹ does not seem to have been performed more than once, Tulabharams² and Mrityumjayajapams³ were of frequent occurrence. The Mamakams⁴ and Tai-Puyams⁵ were held once in twelve years, sometimes twice. The annual Vishu⁶, Attacchamayam⁷, Onam⁸, Revati Pattattanam⁹ and Tirunal¹⁰ were occasions entailing enormous expenditure. Every Zamorin, further, had to perform his predecessor's Tiruvantali¹¹ or funeral ceremonies and his own Ariyittuvalcha¹² or the inauguration of the reign on a grand scale. Though he is no longer a ruling chief these two ceremonies even now cost him a good deal.

The funeral ceremonies are similar to those of the high class Nayars. The Attikkurissi¹³ directs them; the dead body is burnt and the Tampurans, 'bend under the branch'¹⁴ as soon as they return from the cremation ground; on the 7th, 9th or 11th day after death, declared auspicious for the new

¹ ഹിരണ്യഗർഭം, the ceremony of passing through a golden cow which enables the Kerala Samantas to dine with the Brahmins and learn Gayatri.

² തുലാഭാരം, the ceremony of weighing against gold and silver.

³ മൃത്യുഞ്ജയജപം, to propitiate Siva and ward off misfortunes. The Mrityumjayajapam performed by Bharani Tirunal Maharajah lasted seven weeks. (The *Mamakam Kilipattu*, pp. 108—114)

⁴ മമകം, ⁵ തൈപുയം, ⁶ വിഷു ⁷ അത്തച്ചമയം, ⁸ ഓണം, ⁹ റേവതിപട്ടത്താനം, ¹⁰ തിരുനാൾ, birthday. ¹¹ തിരുവന്തളി, funeral ceremonies. ¹² അരിയിട്ടുവാളി, ¹³ അരിക്കുറിശ്ശി, ¹⁴ ശാഖതട്ടുക. "The

Zamorin by the palace astrologer, is the Sanchyanam¹ or the gathering of the bones; on the 15th day the pollution caused by death is removed by a ceremonial bath.

All these are performed with the pomp and honours due to the exalted rank of the deceased. The death is announced by the firing of sixteen Katinas² or mortars; the pyre is built of logs of sandalwood; drums are beaten during the cremation and twice a day till the Sanchayanam by the Karinkars;³ and a lamp is kept burning both day and night at the cremation ground and in the room where the dead body had been lying till the bones are gathered and buried in the earth.

When the Zamorin breathes his last, his Valia Tevari,⁴ Talappana Namputiri,⁵ informs the heir-apparent's Valia Tevari of 'uncle Zamorin's' ⁶ death from rheumatism⁷, and requests him to send the new Zamorin for Tiruvantali and Ariyittuvalcha. Letters are also sent to the various branches of the family, and to the Namputiris, the feudatories, the Naduvalis and others, who have to be present according to ancient custom ⁸.

Attikkuriissi, Edavaltavan, holds a knife parallel to the ground and the Tampurans facing east stoop and pass under it." (Mr. Thorne's Appendix to the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II.)

1 സഞ്ചയനം. 2 കതിന. 3 കരിങ്കർ. The Karinkars keep watch at the cremation ground and Pullare (പുല്ലൂർ) women in the room in which the dead body had been lying. 4 വലിയ തേവരി, the chief priest of the private chapel. 5 തലപ്പണ നമ്പൂതിരി. 6 സാമൂതിരിപ്പാട് അമ്മൻ, the Zamorin is always styled uncle by his next junior, even if he happens to be his brother. 7 Whatever the cause of the death it is always put down as rheumatism in the official records. 8 See Appendix III.

When the Zamorin was a ruling chief, all public activities were suspended for fourteen days, and resumed only after the Ariyittuvalcha, which immediately followed the Tiruvantali. Mangat Acchan¹, the chief minister, attended to all urgent business which could not wait, all letters being written in the name of Talappana and signed by Chittur Namputiri².

On the 14th day of the pollution the Toniyl Nayar³ paid his visit. One of his ancestors sought to take advantage of the general suspension of arms to penetrate into the palace with a view to setting himself up as Zamorin. His followers were cut down by Mangat Acchan, and he himself was necked out of the premises. The memory of this event was kept alive by the visit of his descendant. He advanced as far as the platform, where the Ariyittuvalcha was performed, with the lighted lamp and other insignia of royalty in front. The Acchan met him there and unceremoniously packed him off, the pretender retreating with arms reversed, and the lighted lamp and other paraphernalia following instead of preceding him.

Very early in the morning of the 15th day, the new Zamorin and the nephews of the deceased offer Bali⁴ in the room where the dead body had been lying. The Attikkurissi sprinkles milk and water over them. Then Danams⁵ are distributed among the Brahmins. A purse containing 1000 Fanams is given to Alvancheri Tamprakkal, who, however, does not receive it in person, but sends a representative for the purpose. After this the Zamorin proceeds to the tank for Pulakuli⁶.

1 അങ്ങച്ചൻ. "During the thirteen days while they await this (Ariyittuvalcha) ceremony, a Cahimal governs the kingdom, who is, as it were, the principal Secretary thereof, and this duty and honour are his by right." (*Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 14). 2 ചിറ്റൂർ നമ്പൂതിരി. 3 അന്നിയിൽ നായർ. His family is now extinct. 4 ബലി. 5 ദാനം, gifts. 6 പുലകുളി, bath to remove the pollution.

He enters the tank hand in hand with the Rajah of Punnattur¹. Till A. D. 1793, the Rajah of Bettet² had also taken part in this ceremony, Punnattur taking hold of his left hand Bettet of the right. As soon as the Zamorin and Punnattur plunge into the water the latter swims away to another part of the tank bidden from the former. This is an evidence of the close intimacy that had existed in the past between the two families, which is also revealed by the unique privilege, enjoyed by Punnattur, of dining with the Zamorin after the Ariyittuvalcha.³

When the Zamorin returns from the tank to the palace, the Tantri or the Namputiri director of religious ceremonies purifies him, externally by sprinkling and internally by causing him to sip some Punyaham⁴ or consecrated water.

Then the Zamorin puts the Virasringhala⁵ on his right leg. This is one of a pair of anklets given, according to the Keralolpatti, by Cheraman Perumal to the Zamorin's ancestor, as a reward for his services against his enemies and as a promise of succession to his own imperial throne.⁶ One of the Zamorins made a present of the chain worn on the left leg to his son, the Kutiravattattu Nayar,⁷ for conquering Natuvattam⁸ from Tarur Syarupam⁹.

The next ceremony is Vayarattam,¹⁰ or massage with Vayara, a common meadow grass reputed to have medicinal properties. A holy man, named Kolkunnattu Sivankal,¹¹ pleased

1 പുനത്തൂർ രാജാവ്. 2 വേട്ടത്തൂർ രാജാവ്. This family became extinct in A. D. 1793. 3 Punnattur receives a pension of Rs. 4994-8-0 every year from the Zamorin. This is now paid to him direct by the Treasury, which deducts this amount from the Zamorin's *malikhana*. 4 പുണ്യാഹം. 5 വീരരത്നംചാല, "anklet of the heroes". 6 "സമ്രാജ്ഞിൻ ജ്യേഷ്ഠനെ തിരുമടയിൽ ഇരുത്തി നിങ്ങൾ ഇരിവരെയും അനന്തരവരാക്കി വാഴ്ത്തു ഇവിടത്തെ നന്നു ഇരുത്തേണം എന്നു കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു." (The *Keralolpatti*, p. 56.) 7 കുതിര വട്ടത്തൂർ നായർ. 8 നടുവട്ടം, the middle portion of the present Palghat Taluk. 9 തന്ത്രം സ്വരൂപം. 10 വയറാട്ടം. 11 കൊൽക്കുന്നത്തൂർ ശിവങ്കൽ.

with the devotion of the Zamorin, prescribed it as a daily practice for his health and welfare. Every morning the Zamorin goes to the Vayaratalam ¹ and the Vayara Panikkars ² perform this rite, shampooing his limbs and body behind thick screens. All the while he has to remain blind-folded. After the process the grass is not thrown away but given to the cows of the palace.

Then the Zamorin offers Tirubali³ or cakes to the *manes* of his deceased predecessor. This is done daily for a year till the Tirumasaam. ⁴ Throughout this period he is expected to observe Diksha ⁵.

After Tirubali comes Grahasanti. ⁶ It is performed under the direction of Chennamangalam Namputiri, ⁷ commonly called Chennas, ⁸ who is the Zamorin's Tantri. Nine silver censers, one for each of the nine planets controlling human destiny, are filled with water, to which some juice of the four milky trees ⁹ is added. Nine Namputiris perform *homa*¹⁰ by pouring oblations of ghee and rice into the fire and reciting Vedic hymns. The water thus made holy is poured on the head of the Zamorin and other Stanis who have their Ariyittuvalcha. This is called Tirumudikkalasam.¹¹ After this Chennas whispers a *mantra* into the right ear of the Zamorin and the other Stanis, each of the Stanams having its own appropriate *mantra*. This is called Mantram Kelpikkal ¹², literally causing the *mantra* to be heard.

¹ വയറതളം, the platform where Vayarattam is done. ² വയറപന്നിക്കർ. ³ തിരുബലി. ⁴ തിരുമാസം, the first anniversary of the death. ⁵ ഭീഷ, he is expected to abstain even from the services of the barber. ⁶ ഗ്രഹശാന്തി. ⁷ ചെന്നമംഗലം നമ്പൂതിരി. ⁸ ചെന്നാസ്. ⁹ അത്തി, ഇത്തി, അരയൻ, ചെറൻ, Ficus Glomerosa, Benjamina, Religiosa and Indica. ¹⁰ ഹോമം. ¹¹ തിരുമുദിക്കലം. ¹² മന്ത്രം കേൾപ്പിക്കൽ.

Next, the Zamorin proceeds to his 'private' chapel to worship his Bhagavati ¹ or the tutelary goddess and the Cheraman Sword. ² The former, the manifestation of Sakti, is the guardian deity of all the Kerala Svarupams, the latter is peculiar to Nediyruppu. It was the gift of the saint-king, Cheraman Perumal Nayanar, to the Zamorin's ancestor. The original sword was reduced to splinters in A. D. 1670 at Cranganore, where the Zamorin was then camping in the course of a surprise attack made by the Dutch. ³ The present sword, encased in a brass sheath, was made in A. D. 1672 out of the fragments of the old. The Zamorin has to worship this sword every day if he has no pollution. It is the common belief, a belief held by him as well as his enemies, that the Cheraman Sword was the cause of his extraordinary success against them.

The next item is Utaval anakkuka ⁴ and Utaval vanguga, ⁵ that is, to sharpen one's own sword and receive one's own sword respectively. During the fourteen days the pollution lasts the Zamorin cannot touch sword or shield. After worshipping the precious heirloom the Zamorin goes to his Kalari ⁶ or private gymnasium. Under the guidance of Tamme Panikkar, ⁷ the hereditary instructor-in-arms, he bows before each of the twenty-seven deities ⁸ presiding over the Kalari, after which he receives his sword from the Panikkar.

1 ഭഗവതി 2 ചേരമാൻ വാൾ. 3 "അകത്തു മുവ്വടിയാകുമ്പോൾ (ചന്ത) വെട്ടുത്തമ്പുരക്കയകത്തുകടന്നു വെള്ളിവിളക്കും വെള്ളിക്കിണ്ടിയും കിണ്ണങ്ങളും വാക്ചാർത്തട്ടും അതിലുണ്ടായിരുന്നായുധങ്ങളും കവൻ പുരമുട്ടു.....ചേരമാൻ വാളുവെട്ടുത്തമ്പുരക്കയവിടുന്നു വെണ്ണുപാകയും ചെയ്തു. (കൊല്ലം 845-0 മതമീനങ്ങയെൽ 14 നു- ഏഴ്തിയ ഗ്രന്ഥവരി.) 4 ഉടവാൾ അണക്കുക. 5 ഉടവാൾ വാങ്ങുക. 6 കളരി. 7 തമ്മെ പണിക്കർ. The Panikkar receives two purses of 101 Fanams each, when he places the sword in the Zamorin's hands. 8 ഇരു, ഗണപതി, ചണ്ഡികാദേവി, സരസ്വതി, ബ്രഹ്മാണി, നരസിംഹം, ഹനുമാൻ, വട്ടകരൈവൻ, മാഹേശ്വരി, കൈമാരി, രാജശാലി, ഭദ്രകാളി, രക്തചാമുണ്ഡി, സുന്ദരി, സുമുഖി, ചാമുണ്ഡി, ദക്ഷിണാമൂർത്തി, വാസ്തവേശ്വരൻ, വീരഭദ്രൻ, ഇന്ദ്രാണി, വൈഷ്ണവി, മഹാലക്ഷ്മി, വാഗ്ദേവി, തിരുവള്ളയന്നാട്ടു ഭഗവതി, ശക്തി, ശിവൻ.

Then the Zamorin pays his respects to Alvancheri Tamprakkal,¹ the religious head of Kerala. Originally there were two high priests or Tamprakkals, Kalpakancheri Tamprakkal² for the Panniyur-kur³ and Alvancheri Tamprakkal for the Chovara-kur⁴. The Zamorin was the protector of the Panniyur faction and Kalpakancheri alone came for the Ariyittuvalcha. In course of time all memories of the ancient bitter war between the two parties died out,⁵ and interdining and intermarriage between the members of the two Kurs became common⁶. Sometime in the seventeenth century the family of Kalpakancheri became extinct. So Alvancheri was invited to take his place. The Tamprakkal does not come to the Zamorin's palace, but takes up his residence in the nearest temple. The Zamorin goes to him and performs Sashtangam⁷ or prostration with the eight limbs. In slow and measured terms the Tamprakkal pronounces three times his benediction in the following words :- "Protecting cows and Brahmins, reign as Kunnalakkonattiri".⁸

As soon as he returns to the palace, he proceeds to the "dressing room" for Chamayam charttal⁹ or putting on the ornaments. He is helped by Nandavanattil Nampi¹⁰ who was in former times the keeper of the crown jewels. These were worn

1 ആഴ്വാഞ്ചേരി തമ്പ്രാക്കൾ. 2 കല്പകഞ്ചേരി തമ്പ്രാക്കൾ. 3 പന്നി
യൂർകുറ. 4 ചോവരകുറ. 5 "At present, however, they are not per-
ceptible except perhaps in the modes of dressing victuals,"
(*The Cochin State Manual*, p. 42.) In the mode of tying the
cloth and wearing the caste mark also a distinction is observed.
6 Most of the Panniyur Namputiris who fled to other villages
when the temple of Varahamurti was desecrated joined the
Chovara-kur. 7 സാഷ്ടാംഗം. 8 പതുവിനെയും ബ്രാഹ്മണനെയും രക്ഷി
ച്ച കുന്നലക്കോനത്തിരിയായിവാഴുക. For this the Tamprakkal receives
a purse containing 1000 Fanams. 9 ചമയം ചാർത്തൽ. 10 നന്ദവ
നത്തിൽ നമ്പി.

by the Zamorin on all important occasions, not only for Ariyittu-
valeha, Attacchamayam, Tai-Puyam and Mamakam,³ but also

³ The following were the jewels worn by the Zamorin at the
Mamakam of A. D. 1683. കൊല്ലം 858൦-൧൯ ധനു മാസം 26-ാം-
ചൊന്നാമി വാഴകെ കൊവി ലകത്ത ഇരുന്നതളെ മോമാക്കത്തിനു കോവില
കത്തുനിന്നു കൊണ്ടുപോയ തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചു കണക്ക്.

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|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. കല്ലുംമുത്തും വെച്ചു വട്ടമുക്ക | 18. വെട്ടാക്ഷത്തിന്റെ ഭാഷയിൽ |
| ഒന്നിന്മേൽ ഒടഞ്ചാൻ വട്ടമുക്ക 148. | മാല 1. |
| 2. ചുക്കച്ച കല്ലുവെച്ച വൈരമാല 1. | 19. 61 മണിയുള്ള ഏരഞ്ഞിപ്പുമാല 1. |
| 3. കാലിമേൽ ചാത്തുന്ന കല്ലുവെച്ച | അതിൽ ആലിലയുടെ ഭാഷയിൽ |
| തിരുവാഴി 1. | വൈരം വെച്ച പതം 1. |
| 4. കല്ലുവെച്ച വീരചങ്ങല 1. | 20. 16½ പിടിയുള്ള ചക്രമാല 1. |
| 5. മേൽപടി 16. | 21. കല്ലുവെച്ച ഉടഞ്ചാൻ 1. |
| 6. വലിയമുത്തുക്കുല 4. | അതിന്മേൽവലിയപടി 18 ചെ |
| 7. ചെറിയമുത്തുക്കുല 2. | റിയപടി 2. |
| 8. നാലു മുത്തും നടുവിൽ ചുക്കച്ച ക | 22. വലിയ ഉടഞ്ചാൻ 1 കല്ലുവെച്ച |
| ല്ലും വെച്ച അമ്പലകെട്ടി 4. | പടി 21. |
| 9. നാലുമുത്തുകെട്ടിയ കടുക്കൻ 1. | 23. കല്ലും മുത്തും വെച്ച കടകം 1. |
| 10. ആറു മുത്തുകെട്ടിയ കടുക്കൻ 1. | 24. കല്ലുവെച്ച തുലൈവള 3. |
| 11. പതിനാറു മുത്തുകെട്ടിയ കടുക്കൻ 1. | 25. വൈരം വെച്ച നാഗപടമുള്ള |
| 12. ചുക്കച്ചും മുത്തുംകൂടി കെട്ടിയ കടു | കടകം 1. |
| ക്കൻ 1. | 26. മോഴതൂലൈ വള 1. |
| 13. നീലക്കല്ലിന്മേൽ ചുക്കച്ചകല്ലും മു | 27. ചക്രവള 1. |
| ത്തും കോത്തു ഇട്ട കടുക്കൻ 4. | 28. നിത്യത ചാത്തുന്ന തുലാതില 2. |
| 14. കല്ലും മുത്തും കെട്ടിയ കടകം 1. | 29. കല്ലുവെച്ച പട്ടപ്പുവ 4. |
| 15. മുപ്പത്താറുമണിയുള്ള ഏരക്കുമാല 1. | 30. കല്ലുവെച്ച തുലൈവള 1. |
| അതിന്മേൽ ചുക്കച്ചകല്ലുവെച്ച | 31. ചെമ്മുള്ളൻ കൊത്തുവള 4 |
| പട്ടത്തിൽ പടി 2. | 32. തോളവള 1. |
| 16. ചൊടുപ്പുകുടിയ ഉയരണം 1. | 33. ചങ്ങല ഒടഞ്ചാൻ 1 അതിൽ |
| 17. പമ്പിഴമാല 1 | കുത്തി 201. |
| അതിൽ ചൊറണി കൂടി എണ്ണം 38. | 34. വീരചങ്ങല 1. |
| അതിന്മേൽ ചൊറണുകൊണ്ടു ലക്ഷ്മി | 35. ശ്രീരാമരൂപം കൊത്തിയ |
| രൂപം. | തിരുവാഴി 1. |

when he received the ambassadors of foreign kings.¹

Among the jewels worn by the Zamorin at Ariyittuvalcha the crown is conspicuous by its absence. In its stead he wears a gold band or fillet called Tirumutippattam.² The Ariyittuvalcha is neither a coronation nor an enthronement ; for, neither the crown nor the throne figures in it.

The crown and coronation were first introduced in Kerala by the Portuguese, when, in A. D. 1505, Almeida placed the 'golden crown brought from Portugal' on the head of Unni Rama Varma, the Rajah of Cochin³. Instead of the throne the

¹ When he gave audience to Vasco da Gama, "he was clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees ; one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one, which bore large stones, which could not fail to be of very great value. From this middle ring hung a pendant stone which glittered ; it was a diamond of the thickness of a thumb ; it seemed a priceless thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazelnuts. The string took two turns and reached his middle ; above it he wore a thin round gold chain which wore a jewel of the form of a heart surrounded by large pearls and all full of rubies ; in the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean, which, from its showiness, was of great price, which was called an emerald. The hair was all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it ; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, and at the end of the string a pendant pearl shaped and larger than the rest. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold ear-rings of round beads. (Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 298).

² തിരുമുട്ടിപ്പട്ടം.

³ Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 66.

Zamorin is throughout the ceremony seated on a white and a black carpet¹, spread one above the other. The Ariyittuvalcha is the formal inauguration of the reign with the blessings of the Brahmins conferred in the customary way of throwing rice on the head. This is the central feature that gives the name to the ceremony.

At first this was done by Kotachirakkal Adhyan² and the Rajah of Bettet, the one representing the Brahmins of the Panniyurkur to which the Zamorin belonged, the other the Kshatriyas of Kerala, both superior to the Samantas by caste. The Bettet dynasty died out in A. D. 1793. Once the Adhyan found himself unable to take part in an Ariyittuvalcha on account of pollution. So he caused his sister's son, the Pumulli Namputiri³, to officiate in his stead, himself supervising the ceremony, standing on the floor below. This became the practice ever since, and Kotachira lost his ancient right⁴. It is not known when Varikkumancheri Namputiri⁵, and Kinangat Namputiri⁶, both belonging to the Chovarakur, came to be invited. In all probability Varikkumancheri was one of those who assisted the Zamorin to perform Hiranyagarbham⁷. Kinangat was a partisan of Perumpatappu⁸, and he was given this privilege for changing sides.

While the Zamorin is engaged in putting on his jewels, the Pallimaradi⁹ is brought in state to the Vayaratalam. It is called

1 വെള്ളയും കരിയടവും. 2 കോതചിറക്കൽ ആഡ്യൻ. 3 പുമുള്ളി നമ്പൂതിരി.

⁴ He now receives from the Zamorin an annual pension of Rs 85-11-0.

⁵ വരിക്കുമഞ്ചേരി നമ്പൂതിരി. ⁶ കിനാങ്ങട്ട നമ്പൂതിരി. Pumulli and Varikkumancheri receive each 125 Fanams and Kinangat 98 Fanams as gifts. ⁷ Panniyur refused to allow the Zamorin this privilege and thus to raise himself in the social hierarchy. So he turned to Chovaram. The decline of Panniyur was closely connected with the alienation of its best friend and protector, the Zamorin. ⁸ പെരിയടപ്പു. ⁹ പള്ളിമഠം.

Pallimaradi elunnellikkal¹. It is a door-panel draped in silk, and it is the characteristic emblem of the Zamorin. Its origin is obscure². According to tradition, the Zamorin found it difficult to defeat the Vellatri's soldiers at Tirunavayi, for, his Nayars were frightened by a terrible demoness who fought in the enemy's ranks. So he retired to the temple of Tiruvalayanad and supplicated the Bhagavati of Tirumandhamkundu³, the guardian deity of the Vellatri. At last pleased with him, the goddess appeared before him in the form of a dazzling celestial beauty, fully decked from head to foot, and promised him victory. He tried to seize her by the hand, and actually caught hold of the Valayam,⁴ or gold bangle, when she disappeared in one of the door-panels of the shrine. This was removed from its hinges, and carried before the Zamorin as he led the attack on the Vellatri. The frightful demoness, who was really no other than the Tirumandham Bhagavati, did not now make her appearance to assist the enemy, and the Zamorin found himself master of the field.

With his right hand supported by Talappana and the left by Nandavanattil Nampi,⁵ the Zamorin comes from the dress-

¹ പള്ളിമാറാടി ഏഴുനെള്ളിക്കൽ. ² It is quite probable that the Mutta Eradi's first appointment was as door-keeper in the Chera household. The carrying of the Pallimaradi before the Zamorin on public occasions might have been due to the same reason as the carrying of a pair of golden slippers before Scindia, whose ancestor was the slipper-bearer of Peshwa Baji Rao—to show his respect for his original humble office which was the cause of his subsequent success. ³ തിരുമന്ദഹമം കുന്നു. ⁴ തിരുവലയം. Before the Zamorin set fire to his palace in A. D. 1766 he entrusted it to a Namputiri and sent him out of it by an underground passage leading to the Tali temple. Neither the Namputiri nor the bangle was seen afterwards.

⁵ "He wore on his arms such a quantity of jewelled bracelets that they extended from the bend of his elbows to his

ing room, to the Vaysratalam, handsomely decorated by Tunnara Chakravarti.¹ He takes his seat on the white-and-black spread before two or four golden lamps, placed on either side of the Sword of Bhagavati brought from the private chapel. After paying his respects to the Bhagavati by placing some flowers on the Sword and bowing with palm joined to palm, he gives Dakshinas,² according to the ancient custom read out by Olukil Menon,³ to Chennas, Talappana, Valluvangattar,⁴ Alur Kanikal,⁵ who is the palace astrologer, Desamangalam Variar, who is the palace tutor, and the representatives of Pumulli, Varikkumancheri and Kinangat. Then Tinayancheri Elayutu,⁶ the Brahmin minister and general, holds up a big silver saucer, containing raw rice, fried rice and Tumpa flower⁷ mixed together, before Pumulli, Varikkumancheri and Kinangat, one after another in succession. Three times, each one of them, beginning with Pumulli, gathers the mixture in his hands and pours it on the head of the Zamorin.

In this manner, blessed by the Brahmins, the Zamorin begins his reign. His first act is to sign four *olas*,⁸ ordering the resumption of Amkam⁹ or trial by battle, Chunkam¹⁰ or collection of customs, Kappalottam¹¹ or navigation, and Panamati¹² or the coining of money. Then follows the confirma-

thumbs, wherewith he was so weighted that he was obliged to have two pages, each sustaining one arm." (De Couto, quoted in the *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*).

¹ തന്നാരചക്രവർത്തി. ² ദക്ഷിണ, gifts. ³ ഒഴുകിൽ മേനവൻ. ⁴ വള്ളുവങ്ങാട്ടു പട്ടൻ. ⁵ ആഴീർ കുന്നികരം. ⁶ തിനയഞ്ചേരി ഇലയുതു. ⁷ തുമ്പപ്പൂവ്, *Leucas Indica*. ⁸ രാല, palmyra leaves. ⁹ അങ്കം. ¹⁰ ചങ്കം. ¹¹ കപ്പലോട്ടം. ¹² പണമെടി. The Zamorin alone coined money in ancient Kerala. According to tradition, this privilege was granted by Cheraman Perumal to the Zamorin only. "Thus he (Cheraman Perumal) left in Malabar three kings, free one of another, but none was to coin money except his nephew, who was afterwards King of Calicut." (*Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 5.)

tion of the ministers and commanders, like Acchan, Panikkar, Elayatu, Para Nampi,¹ Ernad Menon,² and the Talachen-nors³ of Calicut, Ponnaoi, Chowghat and Aliparamba.⁴

Formerly, the Ariyittuvalcha of the other Stanis also was held on the same day. The Zamorin and Varikkumancheri pour rice on their head, and the former gives the second and third princes, each an ola, appointing them governor of Nedung-anad and commander-in-chief of the army respectively.

The last item is the public procession. Returning to the palace the Zamorin and his four juniors take their seat on the white-and-black, and women called Ventiammar⁵ wave before them lighted wicks⁶ and pots of saffron water to ward off the effects of the 'evil eye'.

On an auspicious day fixed by the Alur Kanikal, the Eralpad goes to Karimpula. At Yegneswaram he is met by Vemaneheri Namputiri,⁷ a descendant of Melattur Agnihotri⁸. The Eralpad gives him an ola, promising to protect Brahmins, temples and cows. At Mangat he is received by the Muttans⁹ with six measures of Fanams as a mark of their gratitude for his protection, when they came here as homeless fugitives from Choladesa. At certain places on the way he is joined by Kilakkumnat Nampiti¹⁰, Nedunganad Patanayar¹¹, Karakkattu

¹ പാറനമ്പി. ² ഏറനാട്ടു മേനോൻ. ³ തലച്ചെറന്നോർ. ⁴ "When the Zamorin dies the offices are taken away from some of the Governors and Officials of the late King's time, and some are confirmed in their Offices." (*Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 16.) ⁵ വെണ്മിയമ്മാർ. ⁶ തിരിപ്പെട്ടിയുക. ⁷ വേമഞ്ചേരി നമ്പൂതിരി, who has to bathe as soon as he is informed of the death of Kavalappara Muppil Nayar. ⁸ മെഴുതൂർ അഗ്നിഹോത്രി, who performed a grand sacrifice on the Kali day denoted by *Ya-gna-sta-nam su-ra-kshya* (യജ്ഞസ്താനമസുരക്ഷ്യ), corresponding to A. D. 393.

⁹ മൂത്തൻ. ¹⁰ കിഴക്കന്നാട്ടു നമ്പിടി. ¹¹ നെടുങ്ങനാട്ടു പടനായർ.

Muttavan or Kavalappara Nayar,¹ Vittikkattu Nayar or Kannampira Nayar,² and Kannanur Patanayar or Trikkatiri Nayar,³ who perform Akampati duty.

As the Zamorin's authority extended southwards, the exigencies of the military and political situation led to his continued and prolonged absence from Calicut. He came to reside more and more at Ponnani, moving to Trichur and Cranganore according to circumstances. As the Ariyittuvaleha of the new Zamorin took place where his predecessor happened to die, he took the earliest opportunity of visiting Calicut in state.

As soon as the date of the intended visit was fixed, circular letters⁴ were sent to Calicut. Arakkampatta⁵ was ordered to prepare everything necessary for his reception at the Ampati Kovilakam. Turayil Menokkis⁶ or the clerks of the Port Office and Koyil Tirutti Karanavar⁷ had to provide the baize to cover the street through which the Zamorin had to proceed on foot, for, as a ruling prince the Zamorin should not walk on bare ground. They had also to make the flags and pennons to be hoisted at the Kallayi ferry, western bank of the Tali tank, Kottaparampa north and south, Kuttiechira⁸ and Srambi⁹. The Akattuvittil Parusha¹⁰ or the servants of the household prepared the Mananchira Palace for his stay. The Etakkulattavan¹¹ and the Palakkattavan¹² made arrangements for crossing the river at Kallayi, and put up a shed on the Kal-

¹ കാരക്കാട്ടു മുത്തവൻ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കവളപ്പാരനായർ.

² വീട്ടിക്കാട്ടുനായർ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കണ്ണമ്പിറനായർ.

³ കണ്ണനൂർപ്പടനായർ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ തൃക്കടീരി നായർ.

⁴ See Appendix IV.

⁵ അരക്കംപാറ്റ, the Kariakkar or agent of the Ampati Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti.

⁶ തുറയിൽ മേനോക്കികൾ. ⁷ കോയിൽതിരുത്തി കാരണവർ. ⁸ കുട്ടിച്ചിറ. ⁹ സ്രാമ്പി, a Muhammadan house of prayer, where the Zamorin granted an interview to Cabral (*vide infra*). ¹⁰ അകത്തുവീട്ടിൽ പാരുഷ. ¹¹ എടക്കുളത്തവൻ, man of Etakkulam. ¹² പാലക്കാട്ടവൻ, man of Palghat.

lali¹ or the pavement surrounded by stone railings on the northern bank of the river. And the Muhammadan Kazi or judge, Sabantra Koya² or the farmer of the port-dues, Tura Marakkayar³ or the chief pilot, and the Palli Musaliar⁴ or the elder in charge of the mosque had to be at the jetty for Akampati.

Leaving the Vairanallur⁵ or the Trkkavil⁶ Palace at Ponnani the Zamorin crossed the Bharat ppula⁷ opposite Tirunavayi. And camping at Kalpakancheri⁸, Trikkantiyur⁹, Beypore¹⁰ and Tiruvacchira¹¹ reached Calicut on the fourth or fifth day.

At Tiruvacchira the Munalpad, if he happened to be in the vicinity, the Edattralpad and the Mutta Eradi waited upon him and escorted him as far as the Kallayi river. Crossing the river in a boat or by a bridge of boats, he proceeded to the pandal¹² erected by the Etakkulattavan, and took his seat, facing east, on the white-and-black, spread before four lighted lamps, beside which were placed Nirappara,¹³ beaten rice, coconuts and fruits. As soon as the Zamorin was seated a conch was blown and Katinas or mortars and matchlocks were fired.¹⁴

¹കല്ലടി, this became Kallayi (കല്ലയി.) ² സാബന്ത്ര കോയ. ³ തുറമുക്കക്കാരൻ. ⁴ പള്ളിമുസലിയാർ. ⁵ വൈരനല്ലൂർ. ⁶ തൃക്കവില. ⁷ ഭാരതപ്പുഴ. ⁸ കല്പകഞ്ചേരി, the original seat of the Kalpakancheri Tamprakkal. ⁹ തൃക്കന്തിയൂർ, near Tirur. ¹⁰ ബേപ്പൂർ. ¹¹ തിരുവച്ചിറ.

¹² പന്തൽ. ¹³ നിരപ്പറ, പറന്റിപ്പ, (Paranirappu) a para full of paddy.

¹⁴The bald official accounts, which do not omit a single detail, however insignificant or childish, do not allude to the reception of the Zamorin at Kallayi by a Moplah woman, mentioned by Logan as an evidence of Cheraman Perumal's conversion to Muhammadanism. "The Zamorins, too, at their coronation," says he, "have still, when crossing the Kallayi ferry, to take betel from the hands of a man dressed as a Mappilla woman, and are actually put out of caste by the ceremony, and

Coming out of the pandal, he proceeded by litter as far as the Asoka¹ tree. Alighting there from the palanquin, he entered the Ampati Kovilakam. After bowing towards the Bhagavati and Vettekkorumakan,² and paying his respects to the "mother", he came out by the eastern gate of the palace and entered the precincts of the Tali temple by its western gopuram³. On account of the pollution due to the journey he did not enter the temple proper. So he advanced to the eastern door and three times bowed towards the Lord of Trivikramapuram.

Returning to the western gopuram, where his litter awaited him, he got into it, and the procession, slowly wending its way westward from the Tali tank, along the northern bank of Kantankulam,⁴ entered the Putiya Kovilakam by the western gate.

Here he descended from the litter and proceeded on foot towards the southern gate of the Mananchira Palace, where he was received by Nandavanattil Nampi and Kaccheri Nampi⁵. They led him to the hall prepared for his reception in the usual way with Paraniirappu and lighted lamps. As soon as he took his seat on the "white-and-black", conchs were blown and Katinas fired.

He then signed olas, confirming the appointment of the two Nampis, and permitting Amkam, Chumkam, Kappalottam and Panamati⁶. Then the Lokar⁷ made their

have to live separately thereafter to their manifold discomfort. These are no doubt relics of the time when the Perumal turned Muhammadan and left the country to its own devices. (Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 245). Logan must have been misled by his informants who were ignorant of what took place at the pandal and who could not account for the presence of the Muhammadan dignitaries.

¹ അശോകം, *Uvaria longifolia*. ² വേട്ടക്കൊമ്പമകൻ, the son of Siva and Parvati. ³ ഗോപുരം, the gateway of a temple. ⁴ കണ്ടൽ കളം, formerly it was Kuntumkulam ((കണ്ടൽകളം) or deep tank. ⁵ കച്ചേരിനമ്പി. ⁶ This is a relic of the Ariyittuvalchas held formerly at Calicut. ⁷ മോകർ, the Nayars.

obeisance, followed by the Moplahs led by the Koya. After this Ventiammar waved lighted wicks and saffron water before him, and he retired to his apartments.

Next day, early in the morning, after ablutions, he visited the Tali temple, going as far as the inner shrine to make his offerings. Afterwards he went to Tiruvalayanad by way of Putiyapalam ¹ to worship the deity who had assisted his ancestor in the capture of Tirunavayi. Stopping at Govindapuram ² on the way to worship Lord Krishna, he returned to his palace before noon.

One of these visits is thus described by Barbosa ³:—"When the King goes forth to amuse himself, or to perform his orisons before some idol, all the Nayres who are near by are summoned to accompany him and the Officers of the State and the Pagans; and the King comes forth in his litter borne by two men, which is lined with silken cushions. And the litter is of silk and is slung on a bamboo pole, covered with precious stones; it is as thick as the arms of a fat man; and they carry him with certain turns and steps to which they are trained from their birth. These two men raise the bamboo on their shoulders from which the aforesaid litter hangs.

[The King carries an infinite number of golden crowns] and precious stones, and on his right foot a very rich and heavy anklet ⁴. Many instruments of metal are played before him, and

¹ പുതിയപാലം, the new bridge. This was in existence even as early as A. D. 1679. (തളികിഴക്കനഗരം കടന്നു പള്ളിത്തണിയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി... കിഴക്കനടുനടന്നു കടന്നു പുതിയപാലം കടന്നു തിരുവള്ളയന്നുകൊ വിൽവടക്കെ ഗോപുരത്തുകൊളം എഴുന്നള്ളി (The Zamorin's State Visit to Calicut, A. D. 1679. കൊല്ലം 854. മലതകൽക്കരയരിൽ ഉന്നായകൊ നിശ്ചിതമെഴുന്നള്ളുകൊട്ടിയെഴുന്നള്ളത്തു ഗ്രന്ഥം വരി)

² ഗോവിന്ദപുരം.

³ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 24—26.

⁴ വീരതോരണം, anklet of the heroes. It is clear from this that the Zamorin's gift of his "left anklet" to the Kutira Vettattu Nayar must have taken place before Barbosa, *i. e.*, before A. D. 1518.

many Nayre-archers with bows and arrows like those of the English, and others with long spears with heads an ell in length and metal rings on their butt ends, go before him. They brandish them as they go, and other Nayre bucklermen also go with him with drawn swords in their hands, and they have other rings on the hilts thereof, with which they make great disturbances, and as they go, they shout one to the other in a loud voice in their own tongue, "Go on; go on." Some of them fence with one another as they go in front of the King, and clear the space so that he may see them. They are very active, and great masters¹ of the art of fencing, which art they hold in higher esteem than we hold that of horsemanship.

"The King often halts to let them continue their play at his pleasure, praising and commending those who do best. In front of him the King takes a page who carries his sword and shield, another who bears a golden sword of state,¹ and yet another the sword² which belonged to that King who ruled over the whole of Malabar, and who became a Moor, and departed to go and remain at Meca, which they keep as a relic. And in his left hand he carries a weapon which is like unto a flower-de-luce.

"And on each side he has with him two men, one carrying a large round fan, and the other a fan made from the white tail of an animal like a horse, which among them is much esteemed, fixed on a golden staff.

"Three men continue to fan him, two on one side and two on the other, and on his right hand walks a page bearing a golden ewer full of water, and on his left another with one of silver, and yet another with a towel, and when the King wishes to put his hand to his nose or eyes or mouth, they pour some water from the ewer on his fingers, and the other hands him the towel,

¹ ഭഗവതിവാള, The Bhagavati Sword carried by a Namputiri.

² ചെരമാൻവാള, The Cheraman Sword also carried by a Namputiri.

which he carries, to wipe himself. Other pages also accompany him, of whom, one on his right side bears a golden cup, and one on his left side a silver cup, in which he spits out the betel he is always chewing, "which another page continues to hand to him".

"Behind him they bear two large round water-pots, one of silver on the left, and one of gold on the right, full of water. Further, in front of him go four parasols on their staves, that is to say, two of very fine white cloth, and two of worked and embroidered silk. Near him they carry an umbrella on a high support which keeps off the sun.

"Behind the King walk his nephews and the Governors of the country and the Officers all on foot, and all bearing drawn swords and bucklers, and thus they proceed in good order with extreme slowness, looking at the games and the jesters, tumblers, and musqueteers, who entertain them. If the King goes forth by night he goes in the same manner, but he takes with him four large iron lamp-stands, with branches like our cressets (fogares) full of oil, with very thick wicks; two go in front, and two behind, and there are many torches of wood which burn a long time."

PART I

(DOWN TO A. D. 1498)

CHAPTER III

KERALA AND ITS PEOPLE

In the heyday of their power the Zamorins were ruling over a large part of the west coast strip of South India called Kerala in Sanskrit and Chera in Tamil. According to the Keralolpatti, one of the Perumals brought by the Namputiris from foreign lands to maintain law and order amongst them was called Kerala, and he was so good and wise that they gave his name to the country he had governed so well. ¹

From very early times Kerala appears to have been a separate political entity. The Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas refer to it. Asoka (B. C. 272-232) mentions the kingdom of the Keralaputras in his edicts; and Kalidasa, writing in the second century before Christ, compliments the Kerala damsels on their beauty.

It is very difficult, however, to define its geographical boundaries. For, in the first place, a small tract in the Ernad Taluk of British Malabar is called Cheranad; and we do not know whether this had any connexion with the name of the ruling dynasty. Again, the limits of Kerala have shifted from time to time according to the character of the reigning monarch. Lastly, the temporary or permanent occupation of even a few frontier outposts has made neighbouring kings assume the high-sounding title of the Vanquisher and Lord of the Keralas.

From the Keralolpatti we understand that Malanad or Kerala at first extended from Gokarnam in the north to Cape

1 ആ രാജാവിന്റെ (കേരളന്റെ) ഗുണാധിപ്യംകൊണ്ടു കേരളം എന്നു പേരുണ്ടായി. (*The Keralolpatti*, p. 24).

Comorin in the south. Sometime during the government of the country by the first four Perumals, it came to be divided into Tulu, Kupa, Kerala and Mushika, the boundaries of Kerala being Putuppattanam in the north and Kannetti in the south.¹ When Arya Perumal re-arranged the administrative divisions he gave the name of Kerala to the land bounded by Perumpula in the north and Putuppattanam in the south.² Cheraman Perumal's dominions lay between Gokarnam and Cape Comorin; within Kannetti and Putupattanam were on the south Changalapuratta port, on the north Putuppattanam port, on the east eighteen mountain passes, and on the west eighteen entrances to the deep; between them Cheramannad 160 Katams in extent, 4448 deities, 108 Durga shrines, 64 villages, 96 towns, 18 forts and 17 Nads; the adjoining 5 Nads were Pandi, Kongu, Tulu, Wynad and Punnad.³

Reliable historical records also show the boundaries of Kerala changing from time to time. According to the Periplus,⁴

¹ പുതുപ്പട്ടണത്തിൽനിന്നുകുന്നേരിയോളം കേരളരാജ്യം. (*The Keralolpatti* 19).

² പെരുമ്പട്ടണത്തിൽനിന്നുതടങ്ങി പുതുപ്പട്ടണത്തിലേയോളം കേരളരാജ്യം എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു. (*Ibid.*, p. 32).

³ കന്യാകുമാരി ഗോകുണ്ഠത്തിന്റെ നടുവിൽത്തന്നെ ചങ്ങലപ്പുറത്തിലും വടക്കു പുതുപ്പട്ടണത്തിലും കിഴക്കു 18 ചുരത്തിൽ (കണ്ടി) വാതിലും പടിഞ്ഞാറെ (കടല്ലൂ) 18 അഴിമുഖവും, ഇതിന്നിടയിൽ ചേരമാൻനാടു 160 കാതം വഴിനാടും 4448 ദേവപ്രതിഷ്ഠയും 108 ദുർഗ്ഗാലയവും 64 ഗ്രാമവും 96 നഗരവും 18 കോട്ടപ്പടിയും 17 നാടും അണഞ്ഞ 5 നാടും: പാണ്ടി, കൊങ്ങ, തുളി, വയനാട, പുനാട എന്നു പറയുന്നു. (*The Keralolpatti*, p. 69-70).

The seventeen Nads were :- Tulunad (തൂലുനാട), Kolattunad (കോലത്തുനാട), Polanad (പോലനാട), Kurumbranad (കുറുമ്പ്രനാട), Puravalinad (പുറവഴിനാട), Eranad (ഏറനാട), Parappanad (പാപ്പനാട), Valluvanad (വള്ളുവനാട), Ravananaad (രാവണനാട), Vettatunad (വേട്ടത്തുനാട), Tirumanasserinad (തിരുമനശ്ശേരിനാട), Perumpatappunad (പെരുമ്പാട്ടപ്പുനാട), Nedunganad (നേട്ടങ്ങനാട), Venganaad (വെങ്ങനാട), Murioganad (മുരിങ്ങനാട), Onanad (ഓണനാട), Venanad (വേണനാട).

⁴ *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Mc Crindle), pp. 130-132.

Kerala began at Leuke or the White Rock off in the sea opposite Badagara in Malabar and ended at Nelkunda or Kannetti in the present Travancore State. In the following century, under Chenguttuvan (A. D. 180-225), the Chera empire included Gokarnam in the north, Mysore, Arcot and Palni in the east, and Cape Comorin in the south. After his death the Cheras steadily declined. In the north they lost Tulumad, in the east they had to give up all their possessions beyond the Ghats, and in the south the Pandyan advanced as far as Quilon. With the partition of Kerala by Cheraman Perumal it lost its political unity and its intimate connexion with the Tamil kingdoms of the east. But what it lost it has more than gained. Though politically Kerala is still divided, its people living between the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, the Chandragiri river in the north and Cape Comorin in the south, are united by the bonds of a common language, common culture, common traditions and common institutions.

The earliest rulers of Kerala known to history were the Tamil Cheras, ¹ who had their headquarters at Tiruvanchikkulam. Almost all the kings, whose exploits have been sung by the Sangam poets, have the title of Cheraman ² prefixed to their names. The word Cheraman is a contraction of Cheramakan and means the son of Chera. It is the exact Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit Keralaputra, mentioned by Asoka in

- (1) Sesha Ayyar, *The Cheras of the Sangam Age*
Sivaraj Pillai, *The Chronology of the Cheras*.
Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*.

Translations of the Sangam works published in *The Tamilian Antiquary*

- (2) The Cheras of Vanchi
Cheraman Udiyan Cheral (ചേരമാൻ ഉദിയൻചേരൻ) (d. in A.C. 17.)
Imayavaramban (ഇമയവരമ്പൻ) (A. D. 17-75.)
Palyani Chel Kelu Kuttuvan (പാല്യണി ചേൽകേളു കുട്ടവൻ) (A. D. 75-100).

his Girnar edict. As the foreign writers of the first two centuries of the Christian era also refer to the Chera kings by the

Narmudi Cheral (നാർമുടിചേരൻ) (A. D. 100-125).

Cheraman Chenguttavan (ചേരമാൻ ചെങ്കുട്ടവൻ) (A. D. 125-180).

Cheraman Kuttuvan Kotai (ചേരമാൻ കുട്ടവൻ കോക്കൈ) (A. D. 180-225).

Ilanguuttavan (ഇളങ്കുട്ടവൻ) (A. D. 225-250).

Cheraman Palai Patiya Perumkadanko (ചേരമാൻ പാലൈ പാടിയ പെരു കടംകൊ) (A. D. 250-275).

Cheraman Mavenko (ചേരമാൻ മാവേൻകൊ) (A. D. 275-300);

Cheraman Vancan (ചേരമാൻ വൻചൻ) (A. D. 300-325).

The Cheras of Tondi

Cheraman Karuvuc Eriya Ol Val Perum Cheral Irumpurai (ചേരമാൻ കരുവൂർ ഏറിയ ഒൾ വാൾ പെരുചേരൻ ഇരുമ്പൊരൈ) (A. D. 90-100).

Cheraman Antuvan Cheral Irumporai (ചേരമാൻ അന്തുവൻ ചേരൻ ഇരുമ്പൊരൈ) (A. D. 100-120).

Adukkolpattu Cheralatan (അട്ടുക്കോൽപട്ടു ചേരരാജൻ) (A. D. 120-158).

Cheraman Chelvakadanko (ചേരമാൻ ചെല്ലുകടംകൊ) (A.D. 158-183)

Cheraman Perumcheral Irumpori (ചേരമാൻപെരു ചേരൻ ഇരുമ്പൊരൈ) (A. D. 183-200).

Cheraman Ilam Cheral Irumporai (ചേരമാൻ ഇളംചേരൻ ഇരുമ്പൊരൈ) (A. D. 200-216).

Atan Avani (ആതൻ അതനി) (A. D. 216-236).

Cheraman Yanaikatchey Mantaram Cheral Irumporai (ചേരമാൻ യാണൈക്കാച്ചി മന്തരംചേരൻ ഇരുമ്പൊരൈ) (A. D. 236-266).

Cheraman Ko Kotai (ചേരമാൻ കൊക്കോക്കൈ) (A. D. 266-286).

Cheraman Kanaikkal Irumporai (ചേരമാൻകാണൈക്കാൽ ഇരുമ്പൊരൈ) (A. D. 286-306).

same title ¹ there is no doubt that the dynasty of the Samgam period was as ancient as Asoka.

We do not know when the Cheras established themselves at Vanchi. The origin of the Tamils still remains a matter of controversy. Some attribute a Mongolian origin ² to them; others regard them as the lineal descendants of the palaeolithic and neolithic peoples of the Deccan and South India³; still others go further and say that they were the builders of the Indus valley civilisation and the great colonisers of the ancient world, proceeding by land and sea to Sumeria and Crete, even to distant Spain and Denmark.⁴

There is absolutely no evidence to show that there was any hostility between the Tamils and the Nayars who succeeded them as the rulers of the land. This latter community had originally no name. In the grants of the kings and chiefs they are referred to simply as the Three Hundred, the Six Hundred and the Ten Thousand, which must have been administrative divisions, deriving their names from the number of soldiers furnished by them. In the *granthavaris* of the Zamorin they are called Lokar, literally people of the land. However wide the connotation of this word might have been at the beginning, in historic times it did not denote even all those who were governed by the Marumakkattayam law of inheritance. It was applied only to those who were required by custom to follow

(1) Celobothras, Pliny (Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 251).

Keptobotras, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Mc Crindle), p. 132.

Kerobothras, Ptolemy (*Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Mc Crindle p. 180).

² Kanakasabha, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 46

³ Sreenivasa Ayyangar, *The Stone Age in Ancient India*.

⁴ Father Heras, Mohenjo Daro (*The Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVI, Part I).

the profession of arms, who had undergone the customary military training and received their arms from the chief or the elders of the community. The Lokar were in ancient Kerala what the Spartiate were in ancient Greece.

The word Nayar is of a much later origin than Lokar. There is no connexion between Nayati¹ and Nayar, the former one of the lowest, the latter one of the highest castes of the land. The former is derived from the Tamil Nayattu² or hunting with dogs, the latter from the Sanskrit Nayaka³ or leader. At first Nayar had the same meaning as its Sanskrit parent. It was a personal or hereditary title conferred by a chief on the commandant of a fortress or the commander of an army. The Portuguese writers widened its meaning to include the military followers of the chiefs of Kerala. With the annexation of Malabar by the British in A. D. 1792 and the consequent disbandment of the Nayar militia not only in Malabar but also in the native states of Cochin and Travancore, the Nayars lost their distinctive occupation. They began to take to those peaceful pursuits which they had disdained in the past. Hence, now, all those between the caste of the Ampalavasis or temple servants on the one hand and the polluting castes on the other call themselves Nayars, irrespective of their original rank or occupation in society.⁴

Kanakasabhai says that the Nayars are of the same race as the Tamils and both of them came from Mongolia⁵. But the Nayars trace pollution and property through the female, the Tamils through the male; the Nayar family centres round the mother, the Tamil family round the father. Further, the prevalence of Sati in ancient days among the Tamil warriors implies

¹ നായാടി. ² നായാട്ടു. ³ നായക.

⁴ Thus Vattekkattans or oilmongers, Anturans or potters, Tunnarens or tailors, Vyaparis or merchants, Pallicchans or palanquin-bearers, Veluttedans or washerman, and Velukkattalavans or barbers, all these style themselves Nayars.

⁵ Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 50.

the inferiority of woman, which is totally at variance with a matriarchal form of society. Other writers give the Nayars a Naga origin¹. But succession to the throne and property among the Nagas was from father to son. In all probability the Nayars were originally hill-tribes living on the slopes of the Western Ghats different from both the Tamils and the Nagas².

When and how the Nayars established their principalities in the valleys and spread even beyond to the islands off the coast³ are at present unknown to us. Slow and silent encroachment must have had its share, as in the formation of the Gurkha kingdom in the eighteenth century. The Nayars might

¹ Kunhukuttan Tampan, *Keralam*, p. 4.

² The evidences for regarding the Nayars as indigenous hill-tribes, having no racial connexion with the Nagas or the Tamils, are: (i) Tirunelli in Wynad is their most sacred place, more sacred than Perur and Benares. (ii) The Zamorin's title, Kunnalakkonattiri, is perhaps reminiscent of their mountain homes. (iii) The plantain leaf, very abundant on the hills, still plays a very important part in the life of the Nayars. Offerings to deities and chiefs are presented on it; the moment life departs from the body the corpse is placed on it; food is served even to the most distinguished guests on it, silver and gold being considered less pure than the plantain leaf. (iv) In the recesses of the hills are still to be found people resembling the Nayars in every respect, calling themselves Lokar and lords, of the hills. (v) Lastly, the military system of the Nayars was more suited to the hills than to the plains. While the Tamil warrior protected himself with ponderous armour, the Nayar trusted himself to agility of limb and suppleness of body, to the sure eye and the deft hand. The Nayars had no cavalry and their knowledge of fortification was rudimentary, artificial defences of moat and rampart being more imperatively required and more easily constructed on wide open plains than on the tops of woody hills.

³ The Nayar inhabitants of these islands were converted in mass to Islam by one of the followers of the Prophet.

have taken advantage of the weakness of the central government to extend their authority, and the imperial rulers of Tiruvanchikkulam might have thought it expedient to recognise them as feudatory governors of the lands from which they were powerless to expel them. The Tamil rulers, again, might have sought the help of these highlanders in their wars and conferred upon their leaders provincial governorships and military commands in much the same way as the Pathan sultans and the Mughal emperors set up Abyssinians and Persians all over their empire.

Not only the process but the date of their occupation is also a matter of conjecture. There is not even a single reference to them in the vast mass of the Sangam literature. The Samantas or the Nayar chiefs are mentioned for the first time in Bhaskara Ravi Varman's grant to the Jew, Joseph Rabban, and the Lokar in a grant of Stanu Ravi Gupta's regin. The dates of these grants are highly controversial. The former is assigned to A. D. 192, 377, 700 and 1014; the latter to A. D. 311, 824 and 885. As these kings were later than the Sangam age the Nayars could not have risen to prominence before the fourth century.

The Nayars were divided into a number of endogamous tribes more or less based on locality. Each of these, again, was sub-divided into a number of castes. The Samantas occupied the highest place; next came the Lokar, who alone were entitled to bear arms and have a voice in the affairs of the community. Then followed in the descending order teachers and clerks, domestic servants, merchants, artisans and cultivators. In relation to the chief a distinction was observed between the Akattu and the Parattu-charna¹, belonging to the inside and outside respectively. The former included all domestic servants, even clerks, the latter consisted of all those who had to render military service.

¹ അകത്തുചാൻ, പുറത്തുചാൻ.

The land occupied by the tribe was its Nad. At its head was the Naduvali ¹ or the chief. He was not a despot. His powers were limited by the custom of the people and the will of the Lokar expressed in their Nilalkuttam ². The devotion of the Lokar to their chief, however, considerably reduced the importance of the Nilalkuttam, and it is only very rarely that it asserted itself in opposition to him.

The smallest administrative unit was the Tara ³, a Dravidian word meaning foundation, ground, mound. Every Tara had its Kuttam or Parusha ⁴, and it met at the Mannam ⁵, which is a circular mound of earth or stone under a fig or banyan tree. Every adult male member could take part in its deliberations. But the absolute freedom of speech which he had was limited by the respect for the Karanavans or elders. It met as often as was necessary. Nowadays, its activities are limited to the conduct of the annual festival and Kali ⁶ or the folk-dance in honour of the village deity and the investigation of offences against caste and morality, though in olden days it must have functioned also as a court for the settlement of disputes and the trial and punishment of offenders. The decisions of the Parusha are now enforced by fine, confiscation of Kinnam and Kinti ⁷, and in the last resort by excommunications. There was also an informal deliberative and executive committee, the members of which were called Taravalis or Taravadis ⁸.

The Desam ⁹ was both a political and military division. This word is derived from the Sanskrit Dik or quarter. Every Desam was designated by its allotted quota of Nayars. As a rule a Desam comprised more than one Tara, though some-

1 നാടുവാഴി. 2 നിഴൽകൂട്ടം. In A. D. 1631 a Nilalkuttam of the Lokar compelled the Zamorin to proceed against the Rajah of Bettet, another in A. D. 1746 forced him to punish some of his ministers. 3 അ. 4 കൂട്ടം, പരക്ക, മേനം. 6 കളി. 7 കിണ്ണവും കിഞ്ചിയും, the metal plate on which food is served and the water-vessel with the snout, the two indispensable domestic utensils of every Nayar house. 8 അവാഴി, അവാടി. 9 ഷെറം.

times the Tara and the Desam were identical. The Desam had its own moot called Desakkuttam.¹ The head of the Desam was called the Desavali,² who was in early times elected by the Desakkuttam, but later on appointed by the chief.

The greater Naduvalis were called Utaiyar or Utayavar,³ meaning owner, possessor, lord. The Utaiyars of Ernad, Valluvanad, Onad, Venad, and Nedumpuraiyurnad appear as attestors in Bhaskara Ravi Varman's grant. What constituted ownership is not easy to define. In all probability the Utaiyars enjoyed only the rights and privileges of governors and protectors as distinguished from actual proprietors.

The Svarupis⁴ ranked above the Utaiyars. They exercised all the powers of independent sovereigns. Some of them continued to call themselves Svarupis even after they were conquered by their more powerful neighbours, with the result that in later times we find many Svarupis who are not independent chiefs.

Greater than the Svarupi was the Konatiri⁵ or king. Only two Svarupams enjoyed this title. They were Nediyruppu and Arangot; the former was called Kunnalakkonatiri, the latter Valluvakkonatiri.

The skill and dexterity of the Nayars with their weapons have won the admiration of every one who has had opportunities of witnessing them. Foreigners have also been impressed with the devotion of the Nayars to their chiefs. "They give little heed to what they eat or drink", says Barbosa, "but only to serve and do their duty." Some Nayars were bound even to die for their lord. They were called Chavers⁶. "If in any way," says Barbosa, "their lord is killed and they are present, they do all they can, even unto death; and if they are not at that place, even if they come from their homes, they go in search of the slayer of the king, their master, and how many-soever their enemies may be

1 ദേശകൂട്ടം. 2 ദേശവാഴി. 3 ഉടൈയർ, ഉടയവർ, 4 സ്വരൂപി, 5 കോണതിരി. 6 ചാവർ.

yet everyone does his utmost until they kill him" ¹.

The Namputiris ² believe that their ancestors came from Abicchatra. They were the second batch of Brahmins brought by the mythical Parasurama to Kerala, the first batch having fled to Tulunad on account of the molestation of the Nagas or serpents. These earlier immigrants came to be known as Palam-tuluvar ³ or Tulu Nampis ⁴. The later settlers called themselves Arya Brahmins or the Brahmins of pure Aryan descent in contrast to the Tulu Nampis, who mixed themselves so freely with the aboriginal inhabitants that they lost their racial purity ⁵. In course of time, as the result of their settlement among the Nayers, certain peculiar customs, the restriction of marriage within the caste to the eldest son, impartibility of the family property, polygamy and seclusion of women, came into existence among the Namputiris. Hence they obtained the name of Kerala Brahmins or the Brahmins of Kerala to distinguish them from the Brahmins of the east coast.

The word Namputiri is a shortened form of Namputirippad, and is Dravidian in origin. Some derive it from Nam meaning Veda and Otuvar ⁶ reciters. The Samgam works refer to the Brahmins under the name of Pappars ⁷ or seers. As they were also chanters of the Veda there is no special reason why these Kerala Brahmins alone should be called reciters of Veda.

This word may, however, be derived from the Tamil Nam-piyan ⁸ and Nampu ⁹; the former means a temple-priest, the latter the office of a temple-priest. With the honorific Tirip-pad we get Nampiyatiripad ¹⁰ and Namputiripad, meaning the

¹To avenge the death of two Vellatri princes, who fell fighting against the Zamorin when he conquered Tirunavayi, the Vellatri's Chavers used to come to the Mamakam festival to cut him down. But they came there only to immolate themselves on the pikes of the Akampatijanam or body-guard. ² നമ്പൂതിരി. ³ പാലത്തുളവർ. ⁴ തുളുനമ്പി. ⁵ *The Keralaolpatti*, pp. 1-8. ⁶ നം + ഓതുവർ. ⁷ പാപ്പാർ. ⁸ നമ്പിയാൻ. ⁹ നമ്പു. ¹⁰ നമ്പിയാതിരിപ്പാട്.

respected temple-priest and the respected person who discharges the functions of the temple-priest. Both in effect are same. Even now in many temples in Kerala the priests are Namputiris. It is probable, therefore, that they were first employed as temple-priests, and, like Samanta, Namputiri became the name of a caste or community.

In course of time a distinction grew up between Nampiyatiri and Namputiri, though they were originally interchangeable. The former came to be applied only to rulers or Svarupis, though the latter included not a few who took to the more exciting and hazardous profession of arms. The Namputiris of Chittur and Chennamangalam were as serviceable to the Zamorin as the Nampiyatiris of Idappalli ¹ and Tirumanasseri.

We do not know when the Namputiris came to Kerala. The Sangam works are silent about them. They are mentioned for the first time in Vira Raghava Chakravarti's grant to Iravi Korttan. The exact date of this deed is a moot point. According to Burnell, cited by Logan ², "A. D. 774 is the only possible year"; other suggestions are A. D. 230 ³ and 660. In this deed the Namputiri villages of Panniyur and Chovaram ⁴ appear as attestors along with Ernad and Valluvanad. We have to conclude, therefore, that the Namputiris had become prominent before the reign of Vira Raghava Chakravarti.

The centre of social and political life amongst them was Gramam ⁵ or Ur ⁶, the former Sanskrit, the latter Tamil, both meaning village. It enjoyed complete autonomy. With-

¹ ഇടപ്പള്ളി. ² Logan, *Malabar Manual*, p. 267.

³ This is clearly untenable as the Sangam works cover the third century A. D.

⁴ "പന്നിയൂരകിരമമുംചൊകിരഗ്രാമമുംഅറിയക്കഴുത്താരം." 'With the knowledge of the two Brahmin divisions of Panniyur and Chovaram have we given it'.

⁵ ഗ്രാമം. ⁶ ഉരൂർ.

in its limits it had the privilege of self-assessment, self-government and jurisdiction. The area over which its authority extended was called its Samketam¹. Not even the most autocratic of kings dared violate a Grama Samketam. The heads of families living in the same village met in their Sabha², generally held in the village temple, to discuss the common affairs of the village, punish offences against caste and morality, and make arrangements for the maintenance of the temple and the celebration of its annual festival. The executive officer of the village was called Uralan³, who was originally elected and who received a fee called Uracchi⁴. In some villages there was an executive committee called Uralum Ganam⁵.

Sometimes villages combined together for greater safety and owned a temple in common. Their common interests were looked after by a Samudayam⁶ or Sabhayogam⁷. The greatest of these Samudayams was that of Tirunavayi. The chief executive officer of the Samudayam was called Manushyam⁸, literally servant.

Some Namputiri villages were called Talis⁹. Tali means a Siva temple in Tamil. In course of time it came to denote also the settlement of the Brahmins round it. The most famous of these Talis was the Calicut Tali, to which the learned from all parts of South India flocked to take part in the annual Revati Pattattanam. The Tali, like the Gramam, had its own Samketam. Polluting the Samketam by shedding blood was a crime visited with the severest of penalties. The offender, if a Nayar, lost his life, house and land¹⁰. The affairs of the Tali were managed by Taliyatirimar¹¹, corresponding to the Uralans of the Ur.

¹ സമകേതം. ² സഭ. ³ ഉരലാൻ. ⁴ ഉരച്ചി. ⁵ ഉരലുംഗണം.

⁶ സമുദായം. ⁷ സഭായോഗം. ⁸ മനുഷ്യം. ⁹ തലി.

¹⁰ "തലിയിൽനിന്നു വ്യവഹരിച്ച അവസരം ചാത്തുവിന്റെ പുരമുള്ള കിളി വായ്പക്കുവണ്ണം ആന കഴുത്തിൽ മേനി ഇട്ട പുര കിളികയാൽ വാലിത്തൂരി നയ്യതിരിവക്കൽ കെട്ടിയഴിഞ്ഞ പണത്തിന്നു" കൊല്ലം 900-മത് മകരവൃശ്ചം ഇലാത്തായ് 29-ാംനു ഏഴുനിയ കണക്കു" (*Calicut Granthavari*).

¹¹ തലിയാതിരിമാർ.

Political circumstances led the weaker settlements to group themselves under the protective wing of the stronger amongst them. Thus came into existence the four Kalakams ¹ of Perinchellur, Panniyur, Parappur and Chenganiyur. Kalakam now means menial service in the temple, and it is quite possible that the smaller villages commended themselves to the protection of the deities of the greater villages. In Tamil, Kalakam has another meaning, cantonment, and the four villages referred to might have also been military centres. Rakshapurusans ² or protectors were appointed in these Kalakams every three years. They assembled ³ the Kanam ⁴, and the Kalikakuttam ⁵ or band of players, they had their Samgha Lakshanam ⁶ or the characteristic mark of the Samgha, and they enjoyed the privilege of fixing the flag at Tirunavayi.

Those who took to arms for their profession were known as Chattirar ⁷, the vernacular form of the Sanskrit Kshatriya. They were also called Uril Parusha ⁸. They styled themselves Nampatis ⁹, and took rank immediately below the Brahmins in the social scale. They were divided into eighteen Samghas ¹⁰, each of which had its own characteristic throw in fencing. Their

¹ കരകം. ² രക്ഷാപുരുഷന്മാർ. “നാട്ടിൽ ശിക്ഷാരക്ഷ കറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ട് ഹേതുവായിട്ടു ബ്രാഹ്മണർ എല്ലാവരുംകൂടി നിരൂപിച്ചു കല്പിച്ചു: നാലു കരകത്തു രാജാവെത്തർ രക്ഷാപുരുഷന്മാരായിട്ടു മുപ്പാണ്ടുതക മുപ്പാണ്ടുതക അവരായിപ്പോൻ ഈ നാലു കരകവും കൂടിയാൻ രതി എന്ന വ്യവസ്ഥ വരുത്തി” (*The Kerala Itipatti*,) p. 15). ³ “രക്ഷാപുരുഷന്മാർ” ദ വസ്തുപ്രധാനം: കണം, കളിക്കട്ടം, സ ഫലക്ഷണം അതു മുഖ്യ ഉണ്ടായി. തിരുനാവായി കൊടിനാട്ടുക നാലാളുണ്ടായി.” (*Ibid.* p. 40) ⁴ കണം. ⁵ കളിക്കട്ടം. ⁶ സംഫലക്ഷണം. ⁷ ചാത്തിരർ. ⁸ ഉരീൽപരുഷ. ⁹ നമ്പട്ടി. ¹⁰ Pullur (പുല്ലൂർ), Kanta (കണ്ട), Puli (പൂഴി), Tatta (തത്ത), Vela (വേല), Pura (പുറ), Atti (ആറ്റി), Chunta (ചുണ്ട), Natti (നാട്ടി), Nenmeni (നേന്മനി), Tamara (താമര), Chovaram (ചോവരം), Vella (വേല), Titta (തിട്ട), Chali (ചാഴി), Pala (പാല), Paka (പാക), Viti (വിതി). (*The Sahitya Parishad Traimasika* Vol. 1, No 3.)

assemblies were called Kanams, and their meeting Kanamirikkal ¹, which lasted over a month. During this period the members of the Samgha observed perfect Diksha, and discussed ways and means for the improvement of the Brahmins and the protection of their Dharma and Karma. Each of the eighteen Samghas had its own Kalikkuttam, who played the Chattirakkali ².

In course of time, Perinchellur, Parappur and Chenganiyur declined, and their place was taken by Chovaram, a village about six miles from Panniyur. The reduction of the Namputiri divisions from four to two did not lead to closer political union amongst them. On the other hand, the neighbours entered into a keen rivalry, which flared up into a long and relentless war called Kurmatsaram ³, drawing into its vortex every noble and chief in Kerala.

While the Nayars and the Namputiris were concerned with the political, religious and literary life of society, its essential economic functions were discharged by the Cherumas ⁴, the Tiyyas ⁵, and the Iluvans ⁶, the Muttans ⁷, the Katupattans ⁸, the Christians, the Jews and the Muhammadans.

The Cherumas were the aborigines of the country. They cultivated the fields and supplied all the necessary agricultural labour. Some of their customs and institutions seem to indicate that they were the original rulers as well as the owners of the land⁹. Their present social and political degradation must have been due to the violent aggression of the Tamils and the Nayars. They suffered the same fate in Kerala as the Helots in Sparta and the Celts under the Saxons in England.

¹ കണമിരിക്കൽ (*The Keralaipatti*, pp 41-44). ² ചാത്തിരക്കളി, യാത്രക്കളി, ശാസ്ത്രക്കളി. ³ കൂറ് മത്സരം. ⁴ ചെറുമക്കൾ. ⁵ തിയ്യർ. ⁶ ഇഴയർ. ⁷ മുത്തൻ. ⁸ കട്ടപ്പട്ടൻ. ⁹ They have still their Manams. Their Katir or corn festivals point to the former existence of religious amphictyonies. In Kannati Svarupam, Aiyakkara Yajaman and Pulayanarkotta we have the relics of some of their distinctly political institutions. (Edgar Thurstan, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, pp. 45-91.)

The Iluvass and the Tiyyas are generally regarded as immigrants, the former from Ceylon, the latter from the islands off the coast. Their traditional occupation was the planting and tapping of the cocoanut tree. Some of their historians say that they were the ancestors of the Namputiris and the Nayars, their present social inferiority being due to the silent operation of economic and political causes.

The Muttans or the money-changers came from Choladesa. Expelled from their homes on the banks of the Cauvery by their king, they sought the protection of the Zamorin. He settled them at Mangat, within the jurisdiction of the Eralpad.

The Katuppattans were originally Brahmins called Bhattacharyas of the village of Katu in Pandya. For becoming Buddhists they were ordered to leave the country by their king. After infinite suffering they arrived at Calicut in A. D. 1447¹. The Ampati Kovilakam Valia Tampurratti took pity on them and gave them an asylum. They were ordered to earn their livelihood as Elutassans or village school-masters.

Christianity was introduced in Kerala by St. Thomas the Apostle. He landed at Malankara, near Tiruvanchikkulam, and converted a large number of people, including Nayars and Namputiris. Vira Raghava Chakravarti, king of Cranganore, granted to one of them, named Iravi Korttan, certain rights over the Manigramam² or merchants' corporation of this city.

The Jews came from Jerusalem after the destruction of their temple in A. D. 68. One of them, named Joseph Rabban,

¹ The (Kali day) of their arrival is expressed by the chronogram *Ka-tu-ka-ste-ya-l-tya-ktah* (കടകസ്തേഷാൽത്യാക്താഃ). ² Manigramam is derived from *Vanik-gramam*, literally the merchant-village or merchants' quarters. Like the trade guilds of mediaeval Europe they enjoyed certain rights and privileges. Such Manigramams were in existence at Takopa in Burma and Adittapura in the Chola country. (Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* Vol. II, Part I, pp. 232 and 271).

received from Bhaskara Ravi Varman the principality of Anjuyannam.

The foreign trade of the land was, however, financed and carried on by the Arabs, not by the Christians or the Jews, though they helped to maintain communication with the West. With the decline of the Roman empire they recovered their ancient commercial ascendancy, which had been taken away from them by Augustus and his successors. The Prophet gave an impetus to their political and maritime activities, and within a century after his death they had planted their colonies and trading stations as far west as Morocco and as far east as the Spice Islands and China. According to their accounts¹, they came first to Kerala in the reign of Cheraman Perumal and the king himself was their first convert. When the Zamorin founded Calicut, he induced them by special concessions to visit his new town and settle there. They were not only given freedom to convert the people to their faith, they were also given the monopoly of the export and import trade. Thus were sown the seeds of a lasting friendship which lasted till the invasion of Calicut by Haider Ali. The Arabs frequented Calicut more than any other port, with the result that, by the middle of the fifteenth century, Kollam and Cranganore had fallen into decay and Calicut had taken their place as the entrepot of the trade between Asia and Europe. The Arabs not only made Calicut the greatest port in the west coast of India, they even helped to spread the name and fame of the Zamorin in Europe. They married the women of the country and their descendants were called Moplahs². The Moplahs of the coast towns furnished the Zamorin with ships and transports, enabled him to conquer Tirunavayi from the Vellatri and prevent the Portuguese from establishing their hold on him as they did at Cochin.

¹ *The Tohtut-ul-Mujahidien*, pp. 48-51

The Keralaipatti, pp. 67-78

Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol I, pp. 420-467

² This word is derived either from the Tamil Mappilla, meaning son-in-law, or the Arabic Mouffla, a stranger. In Cochin the Jews, the Christians and the Muhammadans are called Jutan Moplah, Nasrani Moplah and Jonakan Moplah respectively. Hence it is probable that Moplah comes from Arabic rather than Tamil.

EARLY HISTORY

Legends and traditions constitute the main, if not the sole, source of our information for the origin and early history of the Zamorins. Incredibly wild and marvellous as some of them are, they have a unique value. They represent the ideas, which they themselves and the people at large still entertain about their origin, and which have influenced their relations with their neighbours and shaped their history in the past. The belief in the gift of the Cheraman Sword with the injunction to "die, kill and seize" has been not a little responsible for the attempts made by successive Zamorins to subjugate Kerala.

According to the Keralolpatti, Parasurama reclaimed from the sea the land between Gokarnam and Cape Comorin, and gave it to the Brahmins whom he brought from Abicchatra. He settled them in sixty-four villages. For their convenience and comfort he brought Sudras, whom he compelled to adopt the form of marriage known as *Sambandham* and the system of inheritance known as *Marumakkattayam* or "descent through sister's children". Lest the Brahmins should go back to Abicchatra he asked them also to adopt the law of matrilineal succession, which was not however obeyed by any village except Payyanur.

The new settlers could not live in peace amongst themselves. So they approached Parasurama for advice. He directed them to bring a Perumal or king every twelve years from the neighbouring countries to rule over them. Accordingly they brought Keya Perumal from Keyapuram in A. D. 216¹.

¹ Corresponding to the chronogram *Bhu-man-bhu-po-yam-pra-pya.* (ഭൂമൻ ഭൂപായം പ്രാപ്യ.)

In this way twenty one Perumals ¹ ruled over the land, most of them for twelve years, some for shorter periods, none exceeding the stipulated term except Kulasekharan. Then the Brahmins approached Krishna Rayar of Anagundi. He sent Cheraman Perumal in A. D. 428.² The Brahmins were so pleased with him that they made him king for life.

When Cheraman Perumal had reigned for thirty-six years, his master, Krishna Rayar, sent an expedition to subdue the

¹ The names of the twenty-one Perumals with their date and residence are as follows:—

Name of the Perumal	Date (A .D.)	Residence
Keya (കെയ)	216-225	Kotungallur
Chola (ചോള)	225-236	Do.
Pandi (പാണ്ടി)	236-245	Do.
Bhutarayar (ഭൂതരായർ)	245-257	Do.
Keralan (കേരളൻ)	257-269	Trikkatamatilakam
Chennar (ചെന്നർ)	269-281	
Choyiyan (ചോയിയൻ)	281-293	
Bana (ബാണൻ)	293-297	Kotuugallur
Tulubhan (തൂലഭൻ)	297-303	Kotiswaram
Indran (ഇന്ദ്രൻ)	303-315	Kotungallur
Aryan (അര്യൻ)	315-327	
Kannan (കണ്ണൻ)	327-329	Kuntivaga
Kotti (കോട്ടി)	339-340	Kottikkollam
Mata (മാട)	340-352	
Eli (ഏഴി)	352-364	Matayieli
Kompan (കമ്പൻ)	364-368	
Vijayan (വിജയൻ)	368-380	Vijayankollam
Valabhan (വലഭൻ)	380-391	Valarbhattukotta
Harischandran (ഹരിശ്ചന്ദ്രൻ)	391-403	Purali
Mallen (മല്ലൻ)	403-412	Nallurmallen
Kulasekharan (കുലശേഖരൻ)	412-430	

(The Keralolpatti, pp. 18-35)

² Corresponding to the chronogram *Sva-rga-sam-deham-pa-pya* (സ്വർഗ്ഗസമഹംപ്രാപ്യ.)

country and bring the Perumal back¹. Thereupon the Perumal summoned the Brahmins to Trikkariyur. They advised him to call out the militia of the seventeen Nads, to order special prayers and worships in the temples, and send spies to scour the country for a leader whose stars indicated victory and conquest. These reported that if the two Eradi brothers, named Manichan and Vikkiran, of Puntura were invested with the command of the army their efforts would be crowned with success. So the Perumal sent Arya-Brahmins with his royal sign to bring the Eradis to his presence. The Brahmins found them reading their lessons at the house of their tutor, Toduvakkalattu Unnikkumara Nampiyar. They explained to them the object of their mission, and gave them the royal sign whereupon they at once started for the capital.

On the way they met Alvancheri Tamprakkal, who was also going to Trikkariyur. When they prostrated before him, he blessed them and promised to help them to gain their object.

1 അനന്തരം ചെന്തമുളം ബ്രഹ്മണരും തൃക്കാരിയൂർ ചെറുമടത്തിങ്കിഴി (തൃനാവാരക്കുളത്തിൽ) അടിയന്തര സഭയിന്നു നിരൂപിച്ചു. ൧൭ നാളിലുള്ള പൂജക്കാരെ എത്തിച്ചു, പടയിൽ ക്യിപ്പൻ തക്കവണ്ണമുള്ള ഇടവരസേവക മുഖം ചെയ്യിപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു, ദിഗ്വിജയം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതു എന്നു അനേപിപ്പിച്ച ശേഷം പുന്തറയിൽ മാനിച്ചുൻ എന്നും വിശിരൻ എന്നും ഇരിവർ ഏറാടിമാർ, അവരെ കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു പോന്നാൽ പട ജയിക്കുക എന്നും കണ്ടു. കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു പോയവർ അയ്യൻബ്രഹ്മണരുടെ കയ്യിൽ അടയാളം ഏഴതി അയക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. അവർ പുന്തറയിൽ ചെന്നു അനേപിപ്പിച്ചാറെ ഏഴത്തുപള്ളിയിൽ എന്നു കേട്ടു അവിടെ ചെന്നു കണ്ടു. ഇരിവർ ഏറാടിമാരെയും ഏഴതിക്കും ഏഴത്തച്ചൻ തൊടുപുഴത്തു ഉണ്ണിക്കുമാരനമ്പിയാരെയും കണ്ടു ഏഴതിവിട്ട അടയാളവും കൈക്കൂത്തു അവസരവും പറഞ്ഞു. അതു: ഏല്പാവരം കൂടി പോയതോൾ വെഞ്ചാലപാവയത്തു പൊലനടക്കുവിൽ കാഞ്ഞിരത്തിൻ ചുവട്ടിൽ കടയും മലർന്നിവെച്ചു കിഴക്കോട്ടു തിരിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്ന ആഴ്വാമേലി തമ്പ്രാക്കുളം അവിടുത്തെ ദിഗ്വാര നയ്യതിരിയും കണ്ടു നമസ്സരിച്ചാറെ, അവരോടു ചോദിച്ചു തമ്പ്രാക്കുളം: നിങ്ങൾ ഏവിടെ പോകുന്നു എന്നു കേട്ടവരെ ഏഴത്തച്ചൻ "അടിയന്തരം തൃക്കാരിയൂർ അടിയന്തര സഭയിന്നു അയച്ചു അയ്യൻബ്രഹ്മണരോടുകൂടി അവിടെക്കു വിടുകൊള്ളുന്നു." എന്നതു കേട്ടു തമ്പ്രാക്കുളം തെ

They had not gone far when they came upon a strange scene. Seven cows were lying dead with fourteen vultures by their side. The birds were tearing and swallowing the flesh of one cow to the entire exclusion of the other six. When the Tamprakkal asked them to explain their strange conduct, one of them, a lame bird, shed a quill, and placed it in the hands of the holy man. When he looked at the carcasses with the quill in his hand he discovered that the cow which the birds were intent upon eating was the only one which had bred true to type. When he looked at the Eradis (and the Nampiyar) he found them possessing all the qualities of human beings. The Tamprakkal gave this quill to Nampiyar and explained to him how it should be used. Then the Eradis fell at his feet and received his blessings. (On account of this, even now, when the Kunalakkonattiri meets Alvancheri Tamprakkal, he must salute him by joining palm to palm).

Proceeding onwards, they arrived at Trikkariyur, paid their respects to the Perumal and the Brahmins, and asked them why they were sent for. They were told that Anagundi Krishna Rayar had come to subdue Malabar with a large army;

അദ്ദേഹം അവിടെക്കു തന്നെ പുറപ്പെട്ടു എന്ന പറഞ്ഞു. ദണ്ഡനമസ്താരം ചെയ്തപ്പോൾ "നിങ്ങൾക്കു മേലാൽ നന്മ വരുവുക നിങ്ങൾ പോകുന്ന കാര്യം സാധിച്ചിട്ടു തരുന്നു" എന്നു സമയം ചെയ്തു. അവിടെ നിന്നു പുറപ്പെട്ടു പോകുന്ന വഴിക്കു ൭ പന്തൂക്കൾ ചത്തുകിടക്കുന്നു. അതിൽ ഒരു പന്തൂക്കിന്റെ അരികത്തു മറ്റ് കഴുക്കൾ ഇരുന്നിരുന്നു, മരണാനിരനെയും തൊട്ടുകിട്ടി. തന്ത്രാക്കൾ ആയതു കണ്ടാറെ ഹൈ കഴുക്കളെ ൭ പന്തൂക്കൾ ചത്തുകിടക്കുന്നതിൽ ആറിനെയും നിങ്ങൾ തൊടാതെ ഇരിപ്പാൽ എങ്ങനെയു സംഗതിയാകുന്നു എന്നു ചോദിച്ചാറെ, ഒരു മുടകാലൻ പൂവൻ കഴുവു ചിറകു തട്ടിക്കടഞ്ഞു ഒരു തൂവൽ (കൊത്തി) എടുത്തുകൊടുത്തു. അതു കൈയിൽ എടുത്തു ഇതു പന്തൂക്കളെ നോക്കിയാറെ അവനിൽ ഒന്നിനെ മാത്രം പന്തൂക്കുവം പിറന്നിട്ടുള്ള മരണാലും കൊല്ലാ മൃഗങ്ങളെ കണ്ടുമായിരുന്നു; ഇരിവർ ഏറാടിത്തോറയും (നയ്യൂരേയും) മനശ്ശ്വരനുമായിരുന്നു. ആ തൂവൽ തന്ത്രാക്കൾ നയ്യൂരേക്കു കയ്യിൽ കൊടുത്തു അതിന്റെ ഉപദേശവും തിരിച്ചുകൊടുത്തു ഏറാടി മാത്രം നായിരുന്നു. തന്ത്രാക്കളുടെ കാൽ നമസ്സരിച്ചു അനുഗ്രഹവും വാങ്ങി. (അതു ഹേതുവായിട്ടു ഇന്നും ആദ്യവാദമരി തന്ത്രാക്കളെ കണ്ടാൽ കന്നലക്കൊന്നിനാതിരി രാജാവു തുക്കെ കൂപ്പണം.)

that to resist him the soldiers of the seventeen Nads had been assembled; and that they should go with them and expel the enemy. Accordingly, after bowing to the council, they marched out of the capital with the army against Krishna Rayar.

(While Cheraman Perumal was engaged in his devotions, two Samanta heroes of Puntura, belonging to the Solar race, arrived at Tirunavayi on their way from Rameswaram to Benares. In the course of a conversation, Tolan, the Brahmin favourite of the Perumal, told them how Krishna Rayar had established a fort to subjugate Malabar, and how the Perumal had to return defeated in battle. He was also very much impressed with the honesty and behaviour of Manavikraman. When the Perumal and the Brahmins were about to leave for the fighting front, having already embarked in boats, the Eradis said to the Brahmins:—"If you send us we shall defeat the Rayar and pull down his fort." When the Perumal was in-

അവിടെ നിന്ന പുറപ്പെട്ട തൃക്കാരിയൂർ അടിയാന്തര സഭയിൽ ചെന്ന് വരിച്ചു. (അങ്ങനെയ്ത ചൊല്ലിവിട്ട കാഴ്ച എന്തു ഏതെ ബ്രാഹ്മണരോടും ചേരമാൻ ചെങ്ങമനോടും ചോദിച്ചാറെ "ആനകണി കൂണ്ണരായർ മലയാളം അടക്കുവാൻ സന്നാഹത്തോടും കൂടി പടക്കു വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു, അതിന്നു മറ്റു നാട്ടിലുള്ള പുരുഷാരത്തെയും ഏൽപ്പിച്ചു പാപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു, അവരുമായി ഒക്കത്തക്ക ചെന്നു പട മയിച്ചു പോരേണം എന്ന അത്ഭുതിചെയ്തപ്പോൾ, അങ്ങിനെതന്നെ എന്ന സമ്മതിച്ചു സഭയും വരിച്ചുപോന്നു.

(ചേരമാൻ ചെങ്ങമാൻ ഭഗവാന്റെ സവിച്ഛിരിക്കും കാലം അപ്പൻ വംശത്തിൽ ജനിച്ച സാമന്തരിൽ പുത്തറ എന്നുപിമാന വീര്യന്മാരായ സാമന്തർ ഇരിവരും കൂടി രാമേശ്വരത്തുചെന്നു സേതുസ്താനവും ചെയ്തു കാശിക്കു പോകുന്ന വഴിയിൽ ശ്രീനാഥാ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിങ്കൽ ചെന്നു. അവിടെ ഇരിക്കുമ്പോൾ തോലൻ എന്ന പ്രസിദ്ധനായി ചെങ്ങമാളുടെ ഇച്ഛ മന്ത്രിയായിരിക്കുന്ന ബ്രാഹ്മണൻ വഴിപോക്കരായി വന്ന സാമന്തരോടു ഭാരതാ വിശേഷങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ ഇടയിൽ, രായർ മലയാളം അടക്കുവാൻ കോട്ടയിട്ടു പ്രകാരവും ചേരമാൻ ചെങ്ങമാൻ യുദ്ധത്തിൽ മടങ്ങിയ പ്രകാരവും പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ മാനവിക്രമന്റെ സത്യം കൊണ്ടും ശീലത്തം കൊണ്ടും വളരെ പ്രസാദിച്ചു. പിന്നെ ബ്രാഹ്മണനും ചെങ്ങമാളും വെള്ളത്തിൽ ആയതിന്റെ ശേഷം രായരോടു ജയിപ്പാൻ പോകുന്ന പ്രകാരം കല്പിക്കുകൊണ്ടു അവരോടു പാഞ്ഞതാറെ 'ഞങ്ങളെ

formed of this offer, he invited them to his palace, and, after assuring himself of their ability and skill in battle, he sent them at the head of 120 captains and 900,000 soldiers with Kilur Unnikumara Menon and Para Uravinkal Chankara Nampi as accountants.)

On their way, one night, the Eradis went to the place where the soldiers were all stretched in sleep, and, going round them three times with the magic quill in hand, they put a white mark on all those whom they found to be of human birth. They found that they numbered ten thousand. (They found 3000 to be incarnations of gods, the rest of demons.) To these they gave each a ring. (While the soldiers were all asleep, the Eradis selected by certain signs the most valorous amongst them, and, after marking their arms with yellow ochre and sandal-paste, they returned to their quarters without anyone knowing it. These ten thousand Nayars with the Nampiyar fought in the right wing. Of the twelve ministers of the Perumal, eleven fought in the left wing, Patamala Nayar, the chief minister and commander-in-chief, remaining in the palace

കൂടെ അയച്ചാൽ യുദ്ധം ചെയ്തു രായരുടെ കോട്ട ഇളക്കാം.” എന്നു ബ്രാഹ്മണരോടു പറകയും ചെയ്തു. അപ്രകാരം പെരുമാളെയും ഉണർത്തിപ്പിരിയ്ക്കുകയും ഇരിയ്ക്കുകയും കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു വന്നു ബഹുമാനിച്ചിരുന്നതിനാലു പല ദിവസവും അന്യോന്യ വിശ്വാസത്തിനായ്ക്കൊണ്ടും ബുദ്ധികളും പരാക്രമങ്ങളും പരീക്ഷിച്ചെടുത്തു സാമന്തർ യുദ്ധകൗശലത്തിങ്കൽ ശക്തന്മാർ എന്നറിഞ്ഞിട്ടു കാലതാമസം കൂടാതെ പുരുഷാരത്തെ വരുത്തിയോഗം തികച്ചുകൂട്ടി, പെരുമാളും തന്റെ പടനായകന്മാർ ൧൦൦ പേരും അവരോടുകൂടി ഒമ്പതു നൂറ്റായിരം മേകവരും കാരായ്മയായിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ ശരീരം അനിര്യം എന്നുറച്ചു സാമന്തരോടും കൂടി എഴുതുവാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം കീഴ്കൾ ഉണ്ണിക്കുമാരമേനോനെയും വരക്കൽ ഉറവീങ്കൽ പാറമങ്കര നമ്പിയേയും കല്പിച്ചയക്കയും ചെയ്തു. പടക്കു പോകുന്ന വഴിക്കൽ രാത്രിയിൽ പടയാളികൾ ഉറങ്ങുന്നിടത്തു സാമന്തർ ചെന്നു പുരുഷാരം ൩ പ്രദിക്കണം വെച്ചു. കഴുവിന്റെ തുവൽ കയ്യിൽവെച്ചു മനുഷ്യജന്മം പിറന്നിട്ടുള്ളവരും വെള്ളികൊണ്ടു മാരാ അടയാളമിട്ടു നോക്കിയാറെ ൧൦൦൦൦ നായന്മാർ മനുഷ്യജന്മം പിറന്നവരുണ്ടായിരുന്നു; (൩൦൦൦ ദേവജന്മം പിറന്നിട്ടും ശേഷമുള്ള പുരുഷാരം അസുരജന്മമായ്ക്കും).

with his master. The left wing fell back; the right wing, on the other hand, defeated the enemies, pursued them into their territory, and after building a fort returned to head-quarters.

(With thirty thousand Nayars, armed with bows and arrows (matchlocks and matches), going in front, supported by ten thousand Nayars, well-trained in fighting with all the eighteen weapons, the Samantas at the head of 32 captains, entered the outworks of the Rayar's fortress. They fought all that day, killed many elephants, horses and soldiers, and drove the enemy into the fort. At night Manicchan and Vikraman held a consultation and formed their plan of attack. They stationed ten thousand Nayars in two divisions at the northern gate, and placed the rest all round the fortress. The battle raged for three days and nights. At last the Rayar was driven out and the fortress occupied. The same day the Perumal rewarded his soldiers, each according to his deserts, and disbanded the army. (The Perumal caused the older of the two Samantas to sit on his lap and wear the anklet of the heroes on the right leg. He ordered his ministers to settle the Ten Thousand in the most fertile part of the empire. The ministers decided that they should be established in Polanad, and so sent away its former inhabitants from their lands and homesteads, villages and towns, to make room for the new-comers. One division was settled at Etakkalinad, another at Iringattikkod, and the bravest of the chosen Nayars at Calicut. After this the Perumal sum-

൧൦൦൦൦ നായന്മാർക്കു മോതിരം ഇടുവിച്ചു പോരികയും ചെയ്തു. (ഉറക്കത്തു ശ്രദ്ധയായിരിക്കുന്നവരെ ലക്ഷണങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടറിഞ്ഞു അവരുടെ ആഭയങ്ങളിൽ ഗോപികൊണ്ടും ചന്ദനം കൊണ്ടും അടയാളം ഇട്ടു ആരും ഗുഹിയാതെകണ്ടു യഥാസ്ഥാനമായിരിപ്പതും ചെയ്തു.) ഈ ൧൦൦൦൦ നായന്മാരും നമ്പിയാരും കൂടി വലഞ്ഞു കോണിൽ പട ഏറ്റു, പെരുമാളുടെ കാര്യക്കാരിൽ പടമല നായർ ഒഴികെയുള്ള കാര്യക്കാരന്മാർ ഫുപേരും കൂടി ഇടത്തുകോണിൽ പട ഏറ്റു, ഇടത്തുകോൺ പട ഒഴിച്ചു പോന്നു. വലഞ്ഞു കൊണ്ടിന്നു പട നടന്നു മലയാളം വിട്ടു പരദേശത്തു ചെന്നു പോകുളും ഉറപ്പിച്ചും മറ്റൊന്നെ മടക്കി പൊതുതി ജയിച്ചു

moned the Manavikramans to his presence and said "We have decided to make both of you our heirs." Thereupon, they replied that, if they returned after bathing in the holy Ganges and taking the Kavati to Rameswaram, they would do as commanded, and left for Benares.

Sometime after these events the Perumal resolved, according to one version, to become a monk and go on pilgrimage, according to another, to embrace Islam and go to Mecca; according to a third, to receive baptism and proceed to Mylapore. Before his departure, he divided his kingdom amongst his kinsmen and companions.

Hearing that the Perumal had already partitioned his empire and was about to set sail for Mecca, Punturakkon (the two Eradis) (Manichean, it is said, fell fighting against the Rayar) and Mangat Unnikkumara Menon went to the Perumal (at Trikkariyur Chitrakutam), who told them that he had al-

പോന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. (സാമന്തർ വില്ലം ഗരങ്ങളും, തോക്കും തിരിയും) കൈക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ൩൦൦൦൦ നായരെ മുനയിൽ നടത്തി, അവരുടെ പിന്നിൽ ൧൦ ആയുധങ്ങളിലും അഭ്യസിച്ച് മേൽ കിരിയത്തിൽ ഒരുമയും ഗുരുതരവും നടപ്പു സ്ഥാനവും ഏറിയിരിക്കുന്ന ൧൦൦൦൦ നായരെയും നടത്തിച്ചു, അവ പടനായകന്മാരോടും കൂടെ ചെന്നു രായരുടെ കോട്ടയ്ക്കു പുറത്തു ചെന്നു വെച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പാളയത്തിൽ കടന്നു. അന്നു പകൽ മുഴുവൻ യുദ്ധം ചെയ്തു, വളരെ ആനകൾക്കും കുതിരകൾക്കും കാലാൾക്കും തട്ടുകേടും വരുത്തി, പാളയം മഴപ്പിച്ചു കോട്ടയുടെ ഉള്ളിൽ ആക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. രാത്രിയിൽ മാനിച്ചനും വിക്രമനും കൂടി വിചാരിച്ചു, കോട്ടയുടെ വടക്കു വാതിൽക്കൽ ൧൦൦൦൦ നായരെ പാതിയാക്കി നിർത്തി ശേഷമുള്ളവരെ ൪ ഭാഗത്തും നിർത്തി ഉറപ്പിച്ചു. ൩ ദിവസം രാപ്പകൽ യുദ്ധം ചെയ്തു, രായരെ മഴപ്പിച്ചു കോട്ട പിടിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു.) അന്നു ചെരുമാൾ എല്ലാവർക്കും വേണ്ട സമ്മാനങ്ങളെ കൊടുത്തു, പുരുഷന്മാരെയും പിരിച്ചു. സാമന്തരിൽ ജ്യേഷ്ഠനെ തിരുമടിയിൽ ഇരുത്തി വീരശ്രീംപല വലത്തെ കാല്പും ഇടിപ്പതും ചെയ്തു. ൧൦൦൦൦ നായർക്കു കേരളത്തിൽ അത്യന്തം തെളിഞ്ഞ നാട്ടിൽ ഇരിപ്പാനുതകവണ്ണം കല്പിച്ചു. പൊലനാട്ടിൽ ഇരിക്കേണം എന്നു മന്ത്രികൾ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടു അവിടെയുള്ള പ്രജകളെ അവിടുന്നു വാങ്ങിച്ചു നാട്ടിലുള്ള നഗരങ്ങളെ മഴിപ്പിച്ചു, അവർ കെട്ടുന്നതും മാറി ഒരു കൂട്ടത്തെ ഏക്കുഴിനാട്ടു തറയിൽ ഇരുത്തി, അടുത്തിൽ ഉള്ള നായരെ ഇ

ready given away his kingdom to his followers, that there were left only the *Desam* where the cock crows and the thorny jungle, and that he was sorry they had not come sooner. When the Eradi agreed to be content with these insignificant gifts, Cheraman Perumal (with Valluvakkonattiri by his side) gave to him, as a poured-out gift, pouring water from the golden conch, the remaining Kolikkotu, thorny jungle, the pathway measuring three poles by the great pole (the Kazi and the Muhammadans, the right of navigation to Mecca and the privilege of protecting the Mamakam festival) and his sword with the injunction to "die, kill and seize" and rule as emperor like him over the whole of Malanad. Then he conferred (on the Nampiyar) the title of Mangat Rariccha Menon, and on Kunnalakkonattiri the title of Elamkur Nampiyattiri Tirumulpad. Seeing this, Valluvakkonattiri said to the Perumal that as the sword had been given to his neighbour with the command to kill and conquer, he must be given some means of protecting himself. Thereupon, the Perumal gave him his shield with the words "Protect thyself". As the sword had been given to kill and the

റിങ്ങാടിക്കൊട്ടും തെരിഞ്ഞ നായരിൽ പ്രധാനന്മാരെ കോഴിക്കോട്ടു ദേശത്തും ആക്കി ഇരുത്തിയ പ്രകാരം മന്ത്രികൾ പെരുമാളെ ഉണർത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു ചെല്ലും. മാനവിക്രമന്മാരെ തിരുമുമ്പിൽ വരുത്തി: നിങ്ങൾ ഇരിവരേയും അനന്തരവരാക്കി വാഴ്ത്തുവാനുണ്ടെന്നു ഇരുത്തേണം എന്നു കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നരുളി ചെല്ലാറെ: ഞങ്ങൾ കാശിക്കു പോയി ഗംഗാസ്നാനം ചെയ്തു കാവടിയും കൊണ്ടു രാജേശ്വരത്തു ചെന്നു ഇരുവരും ഇങ്ങു വന്നാൽ ചെയ്യും വസ്ത്രം ചെയ്യുന്നതുമുണ്ടു. ഇതുവസ്ത്രം ഉണർത്തിച്ചു കാശിക്കു പോവുകയും ചെയ്യും.]

.....
പെരുമാൾ രാജ്യം അംഗീച്ചു കൊടുത്തു കഴിഞ്ഞു എന്നും മക്കത്തു അത്രവിന്നു പുറപ്പാടായെന്നും കേട്ടു പുതുരാക്കാനും (ഇരിവർ ഏറാടിമാരും (മാനിച്ചൻ കൃഷ്ണരായരോടു പട ഏറാ മരിച്ചു എന്നു കേട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു) മങ്ങാട്ടുണ്ണിക്കുമാരമെന്നാനും (തൃക്കാരിയൂർ ചിത്രകൂടത്തിൽ) ചെന്നു പെരുമാളെ കാണുംപോഴെങ്കിലും, രാജ്യം വേണമെന്ന് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു പകത്തു കൊടുത്തു പോയല്ലോ, ഇനി എന്തു വേണ്ടതു എന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു, ഇനി കോഴി കൂവുന്ന ദേശവും ചുറ്റിക്കൊട്ടും ഉണ്ടു അതു നിങ്ങൾക്കു തരാം. (നിങ്ങൾ കറഞ്ഞു ഒന്നു മുറുവ വന്നില്ലല്ലോ) എന്നു പെരുമാൾ അരുളി

shield to defend, Valluvakkonattiri could never be subjugated by (Kunnalakkonattiri). The Perumal also forbade the Eradi to go to war with Venad Atikal and Kolattiri, but allowed him to fight with the rest and called him Nedivirippil Svarupam.

After making these arrangements the Perumal went to his palace at Cranganore on his way to Mecca. (This took place on the Kaliday denoted by the chronogram, *Che-ra-man-de-sa-pra-pya*.)

Duarte Barbosa, whose account is earlier than the Keralolpatti, describes this event as follows: --

ചെമ്പോറ അമ്മതി എന്നു നിശ്ചയിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം ചേരമാൻ പെരുമാൾ (വള്ളവക്കോനാതിരിയെ നിന്തി) ചൊൻ ശംഖിൽ വെള്ളം പകന്നു ശേഷിച്ചുണ്ടായിരുന്ന കോഴിക്കോടും പള്ളിക്കാടും ആനക്കോലാൽ മുക്കോൽ വഴിയും (കാതിയാർ മുതലായ ജോനകരെയും മക്കത്തേ കപ്പലോടിച്ചെന്നും മാരാജ വേല പാലിപ്പാനും) വാളും വാളുമനമേൽ നീതും പകന്നുകൊടുത്തു “നിങ്ങളെ മത്തും കൊന്നും അടക്കിക്കൊൾക” എന്നാജ്ഞയും ഈ മലനാട്ടിൽ മുഴുവനും ഞാനറിയായിട്ടു മേൽകോയ്മസ്ഥാനം നടത്തിക്കൊൾക എന്നാജ്ഞയും കൊടുത്തു. അന്നേരം പെരുമാൾ തിരുനാവായിൽ മണാട്ടു രാരിച്ചുമേനോൻ എന്നും കുന്നലക്കോതിരിയെ ഇട്ടുള നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമൽപ്പാടേന്നും അരുളിച്ചെയ്തു. അതു കണ്ടപ്പോൾ വള്ളവക്കോനാതിരി ചേരമാൻ പെരുമാളോടടുത്തു വെട്ടിയെറിഞ്ഞു കൊൾക എന്നിട്ടല്ലൊ വാൾ കൊടുത്തു ഇനി എനിക്കൊരു രക്ഷ കല്പിക്കണം. എന്നാറെ പെരുമാൾ “ആകട്ടെ തടുത്തുനിന്നു കൊൾക” എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു വള്ളവക്കോനാതിരിയെ പലിശയും കൊടുത്തു: ജയിപ്പാനായിട്ടു വാളും തടുത്തു രക്ഷിപ്പാനായി പലിശയും കൊടുത്തു പോകുകൊണ്ടു എന്നും വള്ളവക്കോനാതിരിയോടു പടകൂടിക്കൂടാ. വെണാടകികളും കോലത്തിരിയും ഇവർ ഒഴികെ ഉള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാരെടു എത്രപെട്ടു കൊൾക എന്നും അരുളിച്ചെയ്തു. നെടുവിരുപ്പിൽ സ്വരൂപം എന്നും കല്പിക്കയും ചെയ്തു.

ഇങ്ങിനെ എല്ലാം കല്പിച്ചു അശ്രുവിന്നു എഴുന്നള്ളവാൻ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ കോയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളുകയും ചെയ്തു. (ചേരമാൻ ശൈലോധ്യ എന്ന കവി (ക്രിസ്റ്റാബ്ബം 355.) (*The Keralolpatti*, pp. 51-56, 73-76)

"They say that in ancient days there was a heathen king, named Cirimay Pirencal, a very mighty lord. And after the Moors of Mecca had discovered India, they began to voyage towards it for the sake of the pepper, of which they first began to take cargoes at Coulam, a city with a harbour, where the king oft times abided. This will not be less than six hundred years ago, for the Indians of that period adopted the era by which these Moors are ruled. And continuing to sail to India for many years they began to spread out therein, and they had such discussions with the king himself and he with them, that in the end they converted him to the sect of the abominable Mafamede, wherefore he went in their company to the House of Meca, and there he died, or as it seems probable on the way thither; for, they say, that the Malabares never more heard any tidings of him. Before he started, this king divided his kingdom among his kinsfolk into several portions as it yet is, for, before that time all Malabar was one kingdom. He went on making this partition in such a manner that when he had given a certain land to any person, he forthwith left it never to return. And at last having given away all and going to take ship from an uninhabited strand (where now is the town of Calecut) and accompanied by more Moors than heathen, he took with him a nephew, who served him as his page, and to whom he gave this piece of land, telling him to settle and inhabit it. He then gave him his sword and a golden lamp, which he carried with him as a matter of state, and left a charge to all the Kings and Lords to whom he had given lands that they should obey and honour him, save only the kings of Cananor and Coulam whom he made independent. Thus he left in Malabar three kings, free one of another, but none was to coin money except his nephew, who was afterwards the king of Calecut. This partition made the old man took ship ¹."

Barros, writing after Barbosa, says ²:—"According to the old accounts of this country, which were read out and inter-

¹ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, pp. 1-6.

² *Decada I*, Book IX, Chap. III.

preted to us when we landed in India, this land which they called Malabar, of 80 leagues of coast line, was the property of a king called Sarama Perumal, who reigned here 612 years before we landed in India. This king was so great that in his honour an era was started. He had his headquarters at Coulam (Quilon), a place greatly frequented by many Arabs, who had become Moors for the sake of commerce. The Moors, led by their fanaticism, while converting many of the Hindus to Mohammadanism, succeeded in converting the very king Sarama Perumal also to Mohammedanism. He then went and lived at Calicut, as it was the centre of pepper growth and Moorish population. The Moors then made him believe that to save his soul it was much becoming to go to Mecca and die there. He accepted the advice, and, before he left the place, by a last will, divided his kingdom amongst his nearest relatives. To the first he gave the kingdom of Coulam, to another he gave Cannanore, calling him king of that place, and to others other lands with titles of honour. Calicut, the last to dispose of, was given to one of his nephews, and (h¹) called him by the new and powerful name of Zamorin, which corresponds to the name of emperor amongst us; and ordered all the rest to submit themselves to the Zamorin of Calicut in all secular matters."

According to De Couto ¹, who completed the work of Barros, the people of Kerala, quarrelling amongst themselves, "selected a person of humble and non-Nair Brahmin caste with neither land nor jurisdiction (as their ruler) and gave him the name of Karam Perumal, who could at any moment be deposed if found unfit for the place he occupied, and gave him for his residence the city of Calicut.

Later on, when the city of Calicut was visited by the Europeans *via* Cairo and Persia, improving immensely its commercial condition, these Perumals became very rich and powerful, according to the Bragmanes of Calicut, up to the

¹De Couto, *Decada VII*, Book X.

year A. D. 347, while according to the Bragmanes of Cochin, the last of the Karam Perumals, who was the most famous of the lot, reigned till the year A. D. 588. Being a very good and affectionate friend of the St. Thomas Christians of Cranganore, he became a Christian and then went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapore, where, as he wished, he lived for some more years, died, and was buried by the side of the tomb of St. Thomas. Before leaving Calicut, he took leave of the other kings, and left in his place (for the time being, as he said, he would be back very soon) one of his pages called Manuchen Herari, native of a village called Baluri, three miles off the town of Calicut.

Some years later, on hearing that the Perumal was dead in Melaiapore, these lords of Malabar adopted to themselves on their own account the title of kings, and, not willing to be subject to anybody any further, assumed their independence once again. Manuchen Herari continued to be in Calicut under the same title of Zamorin, and, being very rich, succeeded in bringing under his influence some of his neighbours, such as the lords of Tanor and Chale. His nephews, as is the case in all the other kingdoms of Malabar, succeed him with the same title."

Barros and De Couto do not mention the gift of the sword. But Sheik Zeinuddin, writing a little before De Couto, says¹:—"It is a prevailing belief that the king (Cheraman Perumal), when the time of his departure (for Mecca) drew nigh, made a division of his kingdom among his companions, giving a share to all except the chief who became the Zamorin, and who at this time possessed himself of the harbour of Calicut, being absent at the time of his division; and who, when he afterwards appeared in the royal presence, was presented by the king with a sword, saying "Strike with this and thou shalt reign".

According to Katancheri Namputiri², Punturesan, hearing that the Perumal, having divided his kingdom among his

¹ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, pp. 56—57.

² *The Mamakam Kilippatu*, pp. 22-27.

relatives, was about to retire into religious seclusion, hastened to the capital to receive his master's blessings. The royal monk gave him what he still retained with him after the partition — the plot of land as small as a hencoop. Seeing that he was not satisfied, the Perumal gave him also his sword and Pallimaradi with the overlordship of Kerala from Putupattanam to Kannetti and the privilege of conducting the Mamakam festival.

The Dutch chaplain, Canter Visscher, writes in A. D. 1717:—"Some will have it that the great Cheram Perumal, who partitioned Malabar and made laws for it, about to undertake a journey either to the Ganges in fulfilment of a vow, or, as the Moors say, to visit Mahomet for the purpose of embracing his religion, divided among his favourites the whole of Malabar. Now he assigned the kingdom of the Zamorin to his illegitimate children, who according to law could not inherit"¹. In another place he writes:—"This town (Calicut) is called by the natives *Karrekovre*, which signifies *hencoop*. The reason they give for this name, is that, when Cheramperumal divided his kingdom, he gave to the Zamorin for his share only so much land as the sound of a cock crowing from its perch could be heard over"².

The Dutch Commandeur, Moens, in his Memorandum of A. D. 1781, says as follows³:—"In olden times Malabar was an empire and the emperors always bore the name of Cheram Perumal. The last emperor was the famous Cheram Perumal about whom many traditional stories are current among the inhabitants of Malabar, especially in regard to his good qualities and wise system of government; and the Malabars are still guided and ruled by the laws and customs introduced by him.

The kingdoms of Travancore, of the Zamorin and of Colastry he gave to his three illegitimate children, but the king-

¹ Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter VIII.

² *Ibid.*, Letter III.

³ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 104.

dom of Cochin to his sister's son, the natural or nearest heir to the kingdom according to the Malabar rule of succession."

The emperor, already stricken in years, seeking the peace and practice of religion, spent the last years of his life, that is, the years after the division of the empire, in religious solitude in the famous pagoda of Tiruvancheallam, in the little state of Cranganore, in which pagoda he also died. The Moors of Malabar, however, will have it that Cherum Perumal turned Moor and went by sea to Mocha on a pilgrimage."

According to the Calicut granthavaris ¹, the last of the Perumals, named Cheraman Perumal, becoming disgusted with the pleasures of this world in his old age, resolved to seek his salvation by abdicating all kingly authority and renouncing all kingly enjoyments. After placing over each of the divisions of Kerala a ruler with all royal honours and dignities, he was about to depart on a grand pilgrimage, when all the great Brahmins of Kerala and others of his subjects came to his presence and entreated him not to leave the kingdom. If he left the kingdom, said they, there would be no one to protect gods and Brahmins and other subjects, and by partitioning the kingdom and substituting many rulers for one ruler their grievances would not be fully redressed, the evils of having many kings in the land being too well-known. If however his resolution was irrevocable, he should not depart till after he had himself installed over all the petty rulers, he had just set up, an emperor, with every power, honour and dignity belonging to his position, to punish them if they oppressed, who would maintain truth and justice in the land, and who himself possessed the virtues of courage, honour, knowledge and truth.

¹ പ്രസിദ്ധനായിരിക്കുന്ന ചെരുമാക്കന്മാർ മലയാളം രചിച്ചു പോന്നവരുടെ ഒട്ടക്കും ഈ കേരളത്തിന്നു അധിപതിയായി ചേരമാൻ ചെരുമാളു' എന്ന ആരംഭം വാല്മീകകാലം വന്നസമയത്തിങ്കൽ ഐഹികസുഖങ്ങളിൽ വൈരാഗ്യം വന്ന രാജാധികാരവും രാജഭോഗങ്ങളും ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു ഗതിവരുത്തുവാനായിക്കൊണ്ടു മഹാപ്രസ്താനം ചെയ്യണമെ

On enquiries it was found that two brothers, named Manavikraman and Manavedan, possessed all these qualities. They had also earned the approval of the Brahmins by being engaged in the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the righteous for a long time under the Perumal himself. Hence Manavikraman, the elder brother, was crowned in open assembly, in the presence of the Perumal and with the consent of all the people, as emperor by the Brahmins (headed by him who had performed the sacrifice known as Samrat, on whom Parasurama and the Brahmins of the sixty-four villages had

നന്നിശ്ചയിച്ചു എറിയ ആളുകളെ കേരളരാജ്യത്തിൽ മാരാരോ ശിക്ഷ
രക്ക രാജാക്കന്മാരാക്കി വേണ്ടുന്ന മാനുഷങ്ങളും കൊടുത്തുവെച്ചു ദേശാ
ന്തരഗമനം ചെയ്യാനായിക്കൊണ്ടു ഭാവിച്ച സമയത്തിൽ കേരളരാജ്യ
ത്തിലുള്ള മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണന്മാരെല്ലാവരും ശേഷം പ്രജകളും ചേരമാൻ
പെരുമാളുടെ സന്നിധാനത്തിൽ ചെന്നു പെരുമാളു രാജ്യം ഉപേക്ഷി
ച്ചുപോകരുതെന്നും രാജാവ രാജ്യം ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചാൽ ദേവബ്രാഹ്മണക്കും
ശേഷം പ്രജകൾക്കും ഒരു ആശ്രയമില്ല എന്നും ഖണ്ഡമണ്ഡലാധിപത്യം
ആക്കിവെച്ചാൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കടം തീർന്നുകഴികയില്ലെന്നും ബഹുനായ
കത്തിന്നു അനേകം ദോഷങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടല്ലോ എന്നും അതുകൊണ്ടു പെരുമാ
ളു രാജ്യംവിട്ടുപോകരുത എന്നും എങ്കിലും ഐഹികസുഖങ്ങളൊക്കെ
യും ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു മഹാപ്രസ്താനം ചെയ്ക എന്നു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു എന്നുവരി
കിൽ മേലാൽ ആക്കിവെച്ചിട്ടുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാരെ എല്ലാവരുടെയും മീതെ
മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ സ്ഥാനമായിട്ടു മെൽ എഴുതിയ രാജാക്കന്മാര യമ്മ
ല്ലാതെ തുടങ്ങിയാൽ അവരെ അടക്കിരക്കിച്ചു ഞങ്ങളെ എല്ലാവരെയും
രക്ഷിപ്പാനായിട്ടും രാജ്യത്തെ സത്യയമ്മങ്ങൾ മാനവിക്രമശാസ്ത്രാദി സക
ലഗുണങ്ങളോടും കൂടി ഏറ്റവും വിവേകി ആയി സത്യസന്ധനായിട്ടു
ഒരാളെ ഇക്കേരള രാജ്യത്തിലേക്കു വംശപാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടു രാജകുലവും
സകലമാന രാജവിഹ്നങ്ങളും രാജദോഷങ്ങളും കൊടുത്തു പെരുമാളു
തന്നെ എല്ലാവരും മീതെ മഹാരാജാവായി പട്ടം വാഴിച്ചുവെച്ചു ഞ
ങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കടം തീർത്തു രക്ഷിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം ആക്കിവെച്ചല്ലാതെ മഹാ
പ്രസ്താനം ചെയ്തത എന്നും പെരുമാളോടു അപേക്ഷിക്കുകൊണ്ടു പെ
രുമാളും ബ്രാഹ്മണരും പ്രജകളും കൂടി മെൽഎഴുതിയ ഗുണങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെ

conferred the title of Alvancheri Tamprakkal), and was given all kingly honours and dignities, the sword of state, the anklet of the heroes and the palace of Calicut, to be enjoyed by him, his heirs and successors. In the same manner, Manavedan was invested as Elamkur or heir-apparent. And enjoining upon them to rule the country with the assistance of the chief ministers in accordance with the rules of Dharma, the Perumal started on his great journey.

യും തികഞ്ഞിട്ടു ആദ്യമു എന്ന അനൗചിച്ഛിത നമ്മുടെ വംശത്തിൽ
 ഒരു മാനവിക്രമൻ എന്ന ഒരാളും അനന്തിരവൻ മാനവേഷൻ എന്ന
 ഒരാളും പെരുമാളൊടു കൂടിതന്നെ ഏറിയദിവസമായിട്ടു ബ്രാഹ്മണപ്രിയ
 വർമായിട്ടു പെരുമാളുടെ കല്പനക്കുതന്നെ രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഭൂമുനിഗ്രഹ ശി
 ച്ചുപരിപാലനങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തു വളരെ ശീലമുള്ളവർ ആകുകൊണ്ടു ആ ര
 ങ്ങളെയും തന്നെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു അതിൽ ജ്യേഷ്ഠനായിരിക്കുന്ന മാനവിക്രമ
 ന് എന്ന ആളെ സഭയിൽ വെച്ചു സകലമാനജനങ്ങളുംകൂടി ബ്രാഹ്മ
 ണരിൽ ഏറ്റവും ശ്രേഷ്ഠനായിട്ടും തപസ്സിയിട്ടും വിദ്വാനായിട്ടും സ
 ഗ്രാഹ്യ എന്നുള്ള യോഗം ചെയ്തു പരിശുദ്ധിവന്നിട്ടുള്ള ആളായിട്ടും ഈ കേ
 രളരാജ്യത്തിൽ അറുപത്തിനാലു ഗ്രാമത്തിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണരും ശ്രീപരശു
 രാമനുംകൂടി സമ്മതിച്ചു വംശപാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടുകൊടുത്ത സ്ഥാനമുള്ള
 അഴവാഞ്ചേരിതമ്പ്രാക്കളെന്ന മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണനെക്കൊണ്ടു ശേഷം ആ
 ഡ്യന്മാരായിരിക്കുന്ന ബ്രാഹ്മണരുംകൂടി ചെരമാൻ പെരുമാളു മുമ്പാകെ
 സകലജനങ്ങളുടെയും അനവാദത്തോടുംകൂടി കേരളരാജ്യത്തിലെക്കു എ
 ല്ലാവരിലുംമീതെ മഹാരാജാവായി പട്ടം വാഴിച്ച സകലമാന വിരുതുക്ക
 ളും സർവ്വമാന്യങ്ങളും വംശപാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടു എന്നെക്കും രാജതപവും മു
 ന്നെ മുമ്പെരാജമുദ്രയായിട്ടുള്ള വാളും വിശേഷാൽ കാലിന്ദേൽ വീരച
 ണ്ഡലയും കൊടുത്തു കൊഴിക്കോട്ടു രാജധാനിയും കല്പിച്ചു മെലൈഴതിയ
 മാനവേഷൻ എന്നു ആളെ എഴുയരരാജാവു ആയിട്ടും പട്ടം വാഴിച്ചു
 മന്ത്രിപ്രധാനികളോടുംകൂടി ധർമ്മണ രാജ്യം രക്ഷിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം
 ആക്കിവെച്ചു ചെരമാൻപെരുമാൾ മഹാപ്രസ്ഥാനം ചെയ്തയും ചെയ്തു.

(Calicut Granthavari, dated 15th Kanni 986 M. E., A. D. 1810).

In one of the Cochin granthavaris it is said ¹ "The Rajahs of the Nediyruppu Svarupam were the sons of Cheraman Perumal who adopted the *Bauddha dharma*. They were born before he changed his faith. On the eve of his departure for Mecca he gave them the country of Calicut and formally invested them with sword and robe."

According to the poet-historian of Kerala ², besides Eralanad, Manicchan and Vikkiran received from the Perumal the *Otinha Val* or the broken sword, the *Otanha Samkhu* or the broken conch, *Ullanad* or the land that was still left after the partition, and *Ulanad*, the faithful Panikkar who was his servant. Further, the brothers were given permission

¹ നെടുവിരിപ്പിൽ സ്വരൂപം ബൊദ്ധശാസ്ത്രം അനുസരിച്ച ചേരമാൻ പെരുമാൾക്കു ശാസ്ത്രം അനുസരിക്കുന്നതിനുമുമ്പിൽ ഉണ്ടായ മക്കൾ അതെ ആകുന്നത്. താൻ മക്കളെക്കുറിച്ചു പറയുന്ന സമയത്തു കേഴിക്കോട്ടരാജ്യം അനുഭവിച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം പട്ടം വാളും കൊടുക്കുകയുണ്ടായു. (Padmanabha Menon, *The History of Cochin* Vol. I, p. 30.)

² മാനിച്ച വിക്കിരവരീപ്പെരുമാൾ വിശേഷാൽ മാനിച്ച വിക്രമമുഖം ധ്വജപുത്രരതെ അന്നിച്ചലിപ്പാലവർ നില്പതു കണ്ടുമാർപ്പം ധ്യാനിച്ചലിത്തന്നെടുത്തുകൊടുവാൻ കൊടുത്തു.

ഉള്ളൊടൊടിഞ്ഞതാരുടവാളുടത്തുശംഖ് മുളൊത്തനാടുമുത്തനാടുമിത്തങ്ങ നാലും നല്ലൊരുനന്ദിയൊടവർ കൊടുത്തതായിട്ടല്ലൊ പഴങ്കഥയറിഞ്ഞവർ ചൊല്ലിടുന്നു.

കല്പിച്ചതപ്പോളുവരാട്ട സഹോദരന്മാർ കെല്പിൽച്ചിരം മരുവുകിങ്ങനെ നിങ്ങളൊപ്പം ജല്പിച്ചിടുന്നു ശ്രദ്ധേയീതിമൊന്നു ദൈവം കല്പിച്ചിരിപ്പതു വാനിടവനാളുമത്താൽ.

മട്ടിപ്പിടിപ്പിനിത്തൊരെയുമൽ, നിങ്ങൾ നാടു വെട്ടിപ്പിടിപ്പിനിനി വേണ്ടതുവേണ്ടപോലെ തട്ടിപ്പിടിപ്പിനിവിടെപ്പതു വിപ്രരക്ഷാ മട്ടിപ്പിടിപ്പിനിയലും വിജയൈകബീജം.

to conquer and annex as they thought fit, but they were required to protect cows and Brahmins wherever they established their authority. They were also to worship his sword every day, for, if anything happened to it that day would witness the end of their victorious career. They must take particular care also of the miraculous conch, which blew of its own accord in the fourth quarter of the night, when people should get up from their bed, for, with the destruction of this conch would disappear also their good fortune. He told them, further, that the gift of the thorny jungle should not cause them any disappointment, for, it would grow into the flourishing port of Calicut; and they would be well-advised to take Ulanad Panikkar with them, for, whatever was done in consultation with him would never end in failure.

എന്നാലിതെന്റൊടുവളൊരൊടിഞ്ഞ വാളാ

ണെന്നാലുമായതിനു പൂജകഴിക്കനിത്യം

എന്നാണിതിന്നപകടംവഴി ഭംഗമല്ലോ

ന്നന്നാണീ നിങ്ങളുടെ നന്വിജയ പ്രണാശം.

നന്നാദരിപ്പിനിതൊരുടത്ത ശംഖാ

ണെന്നാലുമായതുണരണൊരു യാമമായാൽ

നന്നാദമോടു തനിയെ വിളികൂട്ടുമെന്നോ

തന്നാശമനു തുടരും കലലക്ഷ്മിനാശം.

കാടാണകാട്ടിയതു തെല്ലിടതനു ചുള്ളി

കാടാണ കച്ചുചിതി തോന്നരുതുളുനാടാം

കാടാസ്സിനീക്കിതി ശുഭം തരുമിങ്ങു കോടി

രോടാസ്സിലുണ്ടുമൊരു പട്ടണമൊത്തുകാണാം.

സൈപരം ധരിച്ചീടുവിനീയുളനാടു വീട്ടു

കാരൻ നമുക്കു മരുമൊത്തൊരുത്ത ഭൃത്യൻ

പോരട്ടെ നിങ്ങളുടെ കൂടെയിവൻ തുണയ്ക്കു

ന്നൊത്തു ചെയ്തു പണിനിഷ്ഠമലമാകയില്ലാ.

(Kunhukuttan Thampan, *Keralam*, pp. 103-104).

The traditions embodied in the Agnivamsarajakatha ¹ give us an altogether different story. The Brahmins of Kerala came to an understanding with the kings of Chera, Chola and Pandya, that the latter would each send in rotation every twelve years a Perumal to protect them and maintain law and order in the country. In this way Kerala was ruled by foreign Perumals for a long time. At last the Chera king sent Cheraman Perumal. He was so good and wise that the Brahmins appointed him king for life.

The Chola king took no objection to this arrangement. But the Pandyan king feared that this would lead to the permanent ascendancy of the Cheras in Kerala. So, when his turn came according to the original agreement, that is, twenty-four years after the sending of Cheraman by the Chera king, he sent an army through the forest of Kanam ² to expel the Chera viceroy and assert his authority.

The Perumal and the Brahmins assembled their forces at Tirunavayi to repel the invader. But they could not find a capable leader. At this juncture came two brothers, named Manavikraman and Manavedan, to the Perumal's court.

They were Eradis belonging to the Fire race. They had left their home in Puntura on a pilgrimage. Hearing on the way that the country had been invaded, they turned back to offer their services to the Perumal. They reached the Bharatapala when the sun was at his fiercest. From the bank they could descry a man in the middle of the river, struggling on its burning sands, unable to proceed either way. At once they rushed to his help and rescued him from the cruel fate, from which, a moment ago, it seemed, he had no means of deliverance. Their surprise and joy knew no bounds when they found that he was no less a person than Alvancheri Tamprakkal. In his gratitude this holy man blessed them with all his heart,

¹ By Vidvan Ettan Tampuran Zamorin, who died in 1915.

² Between Kollengode and Pollachi.

saying that so long as they protected cows and Brahmins they would be successful in every enterprise they undertook.

The Perumal at once knew from their appearance that they were exactly those whom he and his ministers were in search of. Nevertheless, he would not commit his army to their care until he had put their ability to test. So he caused his vast host to be assembled on the plain of Tirunavayi and ordered the Eradis to defend themselves against them. So skilfully did the two youths fight that they were able not only to parry every blow and thrust but also to cut in two the helmet of everyone of their adversaries. Immensely pleased with the result of the trial, the Perumal and the Brahmins appointed them to the chief command.

Under such leadership the battle could have only one result. The invaders were driven back and the land was cleared of its foes. The task entrusted to them thus accomplished, the Eradis resumed their interrupted pilgrimage.

Soon after this, the Perumal came to know that he was born of Muhammadan parents, and was therefore really a Muhammadan, his mother having exchanged him for the princess the queen had given birth to. He determined to renounce his throne and go to Mecca, entrusting the government of the kingdom to Manavikraman. But he did not know where the Eradis were and when they would return. Every day he became more and more impatient. At last, unable to wait any longer, he resolved to divide his kingdom among his followers. The partition was about to be finished when the Eradis, after visiting Benares and Rameswaram, came back to Tirunavayi.

Fortunately, rich and fertile Vettettunad had not been given away. The Perumal, summoning Manavikraman to his presence, made a gift of it to him. But Manavikraman at once handed it over to a poor and destitute Brahmin, who had joined him on the way, and, to whom, with his instinctive readiness to protect and help the Brahmin, he had promised to give whatever he might receive from the Perumal. When the reason for this strange conduct was explained to the Perumal, he became so

glad that, as a mark of his special regard for Manavikraman's high sense of truth and honour, he gave him all his royal insignia, the land that was the home of the fowls, the thorny jungle, and the sword which charms and spells had made irresistible. To Valluvakkonattiri, who had been witnessing all these, he gave his shield, the last of his earthly possessions. Thus, having given away all, the Perumal bade farewell to his faithful subjects and took ship for Mecca.

Two grants of the kings of Cranganore also throw some light upon the ancestors of the Zamorin, who appear in them as attestors. In Bhaskara Ravi Varman's grant the name of the province as well as of the chief is mentioned; in Vira Raghava Chakravarti's grant the province alone is mentioned but not its chief. In the former we have "Thus do I know Maamebala manaviyan, the owner of Erala province"¹; in the latter "With the knowledge of Eranadu and Valluvanadu (rulers) have we given it"².

It is very difficult to pick out the historical elements that lie imbedded in the traditions that have come down to us, reconcile them with what is known from other more reliable sources, and weave them into a connected history. There is no doubt that there was a king named Cheraman Perumal at Tiruvanchikkulam. In addition to the traditions of Kerala we have the evidence of those of the Tamil land. The Periyapurānam of Sekkilar, the court-poet of Kulottunga I (A. D. 1070-1130), describes the lives of sixty-three Saiva saints, of whom Cheraman Perumal was one. If we set aside the Anagundi origin of the Perumal, the Malayalam and the Tamil accounts seem rather to supplement than contradict each other. The Keralolpatti knows nothing of the parentage of the Perumal; the Periyapurānam informs us that he was the son of Sengorporayan, king of Mahodai or Tiruvanchikkulam and he succeeded him on the throne. The former refers to wars and invasions,

¹ "കുപ്പടി അരിയൻ ഏറാമുനാട്ടുകരയ മനമെമ്പല മാനവിയൻ."

² "ഏറാമുനാട്ടു വല്ലുവനാട്ടു മറിയക്കുട്ടക്കുറോം."

with which the latter, as intended to exalt the saintliness of the Perumal, does not concern itself. On the other hand, it gives us a detailed account of the Perumal's pilgrimage—undertaken in the company of Sundaramurti of Tiruvalur. But it does not describe the arrangements made by the Perumal for the government of the kingdom after his departure. Here the Keralolpatti helps us with the partition story¹. But it does not tell us anything about the death of the Perumal. From the Periyapuramam we understand that some time after their joint pilgrimage the Brahmin saint came to Tiruvanchikkulam to see his Chera companion; and he did not go back but died on the day of Svati in the month of Adi or Karkatakam. The royal saint could not bear the bereavement and he also died on the same day².

The date of this important event in the history of Kerala remains still an unsolved riddle. According to the Sanskrit chronograms, the Nediyruppu Svarupam was founded in A. D. 324-325³, the partition of Kerala took place in A.D. 342-343⁴ and the Perumal left the country on his pilgrimage in A. D.

¹ The tradition is so strong that it must have had some foundation of fact. Moreover, we have no other explanation for the Zamorin's possession of the Cheraman Sword.

² Special worships are offered to these two saints on Adi Svati in the Siva temples of the Tamil districts. In the light of this evidence and that of the Periyapuramam it is no longer possible to hold that the Perumal embraced Islam or Christianity as the Muhammadam and Christian versions respectively assert.

³ *De-va-lo-ke-sa-ra-jyam* (ദേവലോകേശരാജ്യം), Kaliday 125 1348.

⁴ *Bhu-vi-bha-gah* (ഭൂവിഭാഗഃ), Kali year 3444; *U-ru-dhi sa-ma-sra-yah* (ഉരൂധിസമാശ്രയഃ), Kali day 1257920,

355¹. But these dates are not only not corroborated² but come into conflict with the Cheraman-Sundaramurti synchronism, which rests on foundations too strong to be shaken. Logan is of opinion that the Kollam era was founded in memory of the division of Kerala, the departure of the Perumal, and the acquisition of independence by the Kolattiris of the south and the north, the former of whom established themselves at Kollam, which gives the name to the era³. Others hold that it marks the promulgation of the doctrines of Sankaracharya in Kerala. But scholars equally learned explain the era as astronomical rather than political or social in origin⁴. It is, however, strange that all these should have overlooked the Cheraman Perumal era, the initial year of which is A.D. 826-827, corresponding to M. E. 3. It must have been founded in memory either of his accession to the throne or his ascension to heaven. As the Perumal was a saint it could only denote the latter, not

¹ *P u - ru - dhi - sa - ma - sra - yah* (പുരുധിസാരായ :), Kali day 1257921. Another chronogram is *Che - ra - man - de - sa - pra - pya* (ചെരമൻദേശപ്രാപ്യ), Kali day 1258526.

² De Couto, writing in A. D. 1610, says:—"It is known that from the time of Manuchen Herari, the founder of the kingdom of Calicut, 1263 years ago, there have been in all 98 Zamorins; of whom some reigned more than 25 years and none less than three". Thus it would appear that Calicut was founded in A. D. 377. This statement of De Couto does not add to the historical value of the chronograms, because it is based more or less on those very traditions which have inspired them.

³ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I. pp. 155-158, 231, 243, 276.

⁴ This era was observed till recently in Tinnevely and Madura. See also Warren, *Kalasankhalit*, p. 374,

Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 33,

Sundaram Pillai, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVI (1897),

the former. The partition of Kerala must have therefore taken place sometime before A. D. 827¹.

The kings of the grants seem to have lived before the Perumal ², though scholars are by no means agreed about their dates. The Kerala Charitra Parisodhana, written in A. D. 1855, assigns Vira Raghava Chakravarti's grant to A. D. 230, and Bhaskara Ravi Varman's to A. D. 163. Kanakasabhai holds that Bhaskara Ravi Varman's gift to Joseph Rabban must have taken place in A. D. 192³. But as these dates are inconsistent with the evidence of the Samgam literature they cannot be accepted.

Mr. L. Narayana Rao M. A., the author of *Astro-nativity*, has been kind enough to work out Vira Raghava Chakravarti's date specially for this book. According to him, a combination of the planets such as that given in the grant of the Chera king to the Christian, Iravi Korttan, can take place only once in 1079 years, the last instance was in A. D. 1867, and so a previous combination must have taken place in A. D. 788. As it is impossible for the grant to have been made before Christ we get A. D. 788 as its date.

Day, *The Land of the Perumals*, p. 378,

Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore Etc.* p. 355,

Sangunny Menon, *History of Travancore*, p. 89,

¹ As the difference between the two eras is only three years the Kollam era came to be associated in the people's minds with the Perumal.

² The Travancore Archaeological Series do not accept the partition. In them Cheraman Perumal is identified with Rajasekharadeva (A. D. 800-825); Bhaskara Ravi Varman (A. D. 978-1036) appears as the eighth in succession from him; and Vira Raghava Chakravarti is assigned to the fourteenth century. (*The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV, and Vol. V, Part II).

³ Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 59.

Burnell's date is a little earlier, that is, A. D. 774¹. The difference is so slight that it might have been due to the difference in the formulae employed in the working. Caldwell, accepting Burnell's conclusions, says² :—"The date of these documents is probably not later than the ninth century A. D. nor earlier than the seventh, for the technical terms of the solar-sidereal chronology, derived from the *Suryasidhanta* of Aryabhata, which are employed in these inscriptions, were not introduced till the seventh century."

The Chola and Pandyan inscriptions, however, point to the existence of the Cheras in Kerala after Cheraman Perumal. Aditya (A. D. 880—907) defeated Udiyan Chera; Parantaka (A. D. 907-947) married a Chera princess: Raja Raja I (A. D. 1070-1118) defeated the Chera army at Vilinam and the Chera fleet at Salai and appointed a viceroy named Keralakesari Adhirajadhirajadeva; Kulottunga III (A. D. 1163-1216) occupied Kollam (Quilon), where the Pandyan king, Vira Kerala, had taken refuge, and assumed the titles of Chola-Kerala and Chola-Pandiyam-Tambiran; and finally, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (A. D. 1251-1261) invaded the country and uprooted the Kerala race.

At first sight it may seem difficult to reconcile the partition story with the evidence of the inscriptions. But if we make two assumptions, neither of them too violent nor improbable we can explain this seeming inconsistency. We have to suppose, first, that Cheraman Perumal had no heirs in the direct line of succession and his dynasty came to an end with him. In the second place, we must also assume that the kings of the inscriptions belonged to a collateral dynasty, at first subordinate to, later on independent of, of the kings of Cranganore.

It is true that Cheraman Perumal was not childless. The Zamorin's ancestors, according to the traditions recorded by the Dutch writers, were his sons. But as they did not belong to

¹ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 267.

² Caldwell, *The Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 289.

his caste, they could not inherit, though the relations between their mother and the Perumal were perfectly legitimate according to the customs in vogue among the Samantas.

Again, there is no direct evidence for the existence of a collateral dynasty at Kollam; but it is probable there was one. In the Sangam period Kerala was divided between two dynasties: that of Vanchi and of Tondi¹. Cheraman Perumal must have belonged to the former, the kings of the inscriptions to the latter.

In the light of the traditions, the common incidents of which may not unreasonably be taken as their historical basis, and the inscriptions, we may conclude that the ancestors of the Zamorin were the Eradis of Nediyruppu. In an age when prowess on the battle-field led to power and eminence it was not difficult for them to force their way to the front rank. They became Utaiyars of Ernad with 30,000 Nayars under the Chera rulers of Tiruvanchikkulam. Cheraman Perumal, the last of these kings, honoured a lady of their house with his love, and had a son by her, named Manavikraman. The Perumal's reign was troubled by foreign invasions, and his son, the young Utaiyar, was solely responsible for driving out the invaders and saving the empire. Sometime before A. D. 827, when the Perumal died, he resolved to renounce his throne and kingdom, and become a monk. He would have gladly installed his son in his place. But, as it was not sanctioned by the patrilineal law of succession, he provided for the government of the country after his abdication by recognising his provincial governors as independent kings of their respective provinces. To his son, Manavikraman, he gave, as a special mark of his regard and affection, his sword and the small strip of territory on the coast, which later on became the port of Calicut. The Cheras of Kollam did not recognise this arrangement. They established their authority over Cranganore, though they do not seem to have been able to obtain the allegiance of the northern Samantas. In the thirteenth century this dynasty also came to an end, and with it disappeared the last vestiges of Tamil rule in Kerala.

¹ Sesha Ayyar, *The Cheras of the Sangam Age*.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF CALICUT

The rise of Calicut is at once a cause and a consequence of the Zamorin's ascendancy in Kerala. Its trade filled his coffers and enabled him to extend his authority. And the expansion of his empire in turn increased its commerce. Originally a barren strip covered all over with thorny jungle, the genius of the Manavikramans converted it into a mighty sea-port, where the Arabs and the Chinese met to exchange the products of the west with those of the east.

This small tract of land, so small that a cock crowing could be heard all over, lay on the right bank of the Kallayi river at its mouth. Adjoining it and not marked off from it by any natural boundaries stretched the fertile hinterland of Polanad, ruled by the Poralatiri. Three Katams in extent, it consisted of seventy-two Taras and ten thousand Nayars, including three Kuttams, thirty two Ta rawads and five Akampatijanams ¹

Cooped up in Ernad, cut off from the sea by the kingdoms of Valluvanad, Vettettunad and Parappanad, the Zamorin could not but feel the disadvantages of his position. Every day his neighbours near the sea were growing in wealth and strength on account of their trade with Arabia and China. Fortunately, he had also a place on the sea-coast, thanks to the bounty of the Perumal. And he began to transform it into a port.

¹ "പൊലനാട്ടു മുക്കുതം വാഴിനാട്ടും മൂറ തറയും ഹരഹര നായനും അതിൽ ഒരു കൂട്ടവും ഒരു തറയും മൂ അകമ്പടിമനവും ഇങ്ങനെ അത്രൈപ്പൊളത്തി രാജാവിന്നുകുന്നതു". (*The Keralolpatti*, p. 80)

It was not long before the Poralatiri saw the danger of having such a powerful and ambitious neighbour. For the Zamorin, from his commanding position at the mouth of the river, could cut off his trade and hold him at his mercy. So he tried to destroy the infant settlement, and a long and bitter war was the result.

According to the Keralolpatti ¹, the Zamorin came down to Panuiankara and besieged the Poralatiri in his own capital. The siege proved to be long and tedious. Even after forty-eight years the Poralatiri remained as strong as ever. So the Zamorin resolved to employ the third remedy and win over his enemy's followers. The Ten Thousand and the Akampatijanam were guaranteed all their ancient rights. The Menokki or the

¹ “പനിയങ്കര ഇതനന്തളി നാലു പന്തിരാണ്ടുകാലം പോറളാതിരി രാജാവോടു കുന്നലക്കോനാതിരി പടകൂട്ടുകയല്ലൊ ചെയ്തു.....അ വരോടു കുന്നലക്കോനാതിരി പടവെട്ടി ആവതല്ലാത്ത ഒഴിച്ചുപോയതി ന്റെ ശേഷം ശ്രീപൊക്കൊല്ലിക്ക് എഴുന്നള്ളി ഭഗവതിയെ പ്രത്യക്ഷമാ കരി വരവും വാങ്ങി ഇങ്ങവന്മാരോടൊന്നിച്ച് മാനവിക്രമനാമം വെട്ടുമടയകോവിലും കൂടി വിചാരിച്ചിട്ടു അകമ്പടിജനം പതിനായിരത്തെയും സ്വധാനമാ രക്കേണം എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു ഉണ്ണിക്കുമാരമേനവനെയും പാറ ചങ്കരനമ്പി യെയും അകമ്പടി ജനവുമായി കണ്ടു പാവാനുവെണ്ണം പറഞ്ഞയച്ചാ രെ അവർ ഇരുവരുംകൂടി ചെന്നു പ്രധാനനാമമായി കണ്ടുപറഞ്ഞു, ഗ ണപതിയുടെ നിരൂപണത്തിന്മേലുള്ള പെരുമ്പിലാക്കൽ എന്നു കരിച്ചു അ യക്കകയും ചെയ്തു. ഉച്ചതിരിഞ്ഞിട്ടു മാനവിക്രമനാമം ബ്രാഹ്മണനുംകൂടി പെരുമ്പിലാക്കലേക്കു ചെന്നപ്പോൾ അകമ്പടി ജനത്തിൽ പ്രധാനമായി റിമന്നേവരെക്കണ്ടു സന്തോഷിച്ചു അന്യോന്യം കീഴിൽ കഴിഞ്ഞ വൃത്താ ന്തങ്ങൾ എഴുപ്പുപ്പട്ടം പറഞ്ഞു പോറളാതിരിയെ ഒഴിപ്പിച്ചാൽ പ്ര യത്നം ചെയ്യുന്നതിന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ വിപരീതമായി വരികയില്ല എന്നും പറ ണ്താരെ നമ്മുടെ സ്ഥാനവും നിങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥാനവും ഒരുപോലെ വെ ച്ചെക്കുന്നുണ്ടു എന്നു സമയം ചെയ്തു. പിന്നെ പോറളാതിരിക്ക് ഇച്ഛു നായി കാഞ്ചക്കാരനായിരിക്കുന്ന മെനോക്കിയെ കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു വിചാരിച്ചു യുദ്ധംചെയ്യാതെ പോറളാതിരിയെ പിഴക്കി അന്നാടുകത്തിയാക്കി പോലനാടു സ്വധാന മാക്കിത്തന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഈ രാജ്യം ഉള്ളെന്നും സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ കൂട്ടിത്തന്നതിനൊ സമയം ചെയ്താൽ ഒഴിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടുന്ന

chief minister of the Poralatiri was offered a governorship with 5000 Nayars. Even the Poralatiri's wife agreed to accept the Zamorin's gold and betray her lord. At last, according to their arrangement, the gates of the fortress were opened and the Ernad Nayars occupied it, the Poralatiri taking refuge in flight.

The Menokki was made the head of the Vatakkumpuram Nayars and given the title of Ernad Menon. The Poralatiri's wife obtained four elephants and forty thousand Fanams and the title of the "Head of the four houses of Chalappuram" for herself and "Chalappurattu Nalamkur Nayar" and "Calicut Talachennor" for the oldest male member of her house.

പ്രകാരവും പറഞ്ഞതാറെ മേനോക്കിയോടു ഇളമയാക്കി രണ്ടു കൂറായെ
റന്നാടു വാഴ്ത്തായി പാതികോയ്മസ്ഥാനവും നാടും ലോകരേയും തന്നെ
ക്കുന്നുണ്ടു എന്നു സമയം ചെയ്തുനാലർ കാട്ടുകാർ കൂടി നിരൂപി
ച്ച (നായകിയായിരിക്കുന്ന മാലപ്പറഞ്ഞ) നാലകത്തുമ്മയെ കണ്ടു
(ഇങ്ങു ബന്ധവായിനിന്നുകൊണ്ടു) കോട്ടപിടിപ്പാഞ്ഞുവെണ്ണം ഒരുപായം
ഉണ്ടാക്കി (ഒരുപദേശം) തരണം എന്നാൽ ൪ ആനയും ൪൦൦൦൦ പണവും
തന്നെക്കുന്നുണ്ടു (അതുതന്നെയല്ല) കോട്ടവാതിൽ തുറന്നതന്നു എന്നു വരി
കിൽ ൪ വീട്ടിൽ അമ്മ സ്ഥാനവും തന്നു നാലാംകൂറാക്കി വാഴിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു
ത്തുമ്മയ്ക്കു) എന്നു സമയംചെയ്തു സമ്മതിച്ചതിന്റെശേഷംകോട്ടവാ
തിൽ തുറന്നുകൊടുത്തു റെടിയിരുപ്പു കോട്ടക്കകത്തു കടന്നിരുന്നു മൂന്നു
(കുറി) വെടിയും വെപ്പിച്ചു. വെടികേട്ടാറെ "മാതിച്ചിതോ" എന്നൊ
ന്നു പൊറുത്തിരി അമ്പലച്ചെയ്യു കോലടികോവിലകത്തേക്കു എഴുന്നള്ള
കയും ചെയ്തു.

അങ്ങിനെ അടക്കം ചെയ്തതിന്റെ ശേഷം അമൃതിരിപ്പാട്ടിലെ വ
ലിയ തമ്പുരാൻ മേനോക്കി ഏറനാട് വാഴ്ത്താക്കി പാതി കോയ്മയും
൪൦൦൦ നായരെയും കല്പിച്ചു, "പൊറുത്തിരിയുടെ കോയ്മ നടത്തിക്കൊ
രുക വേണ്ടും" എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു ഏറനാടു മേനോന്നെന്നു തിരുനാവൊഴി
ത്തു മരിക്കുന്നു. കുന്നലക്കോനാതിരി രാജാവു നായകിയാൽ വാഴ്ത്ത സ്ഥാ
നങ്ങളും "കോടിക്കോട്ട തലച്ചെട്ടുണ്ണാർ" എന്നു പേരും കല്പിച്ചു, വാളും
പുടവയും കൊടുക്കയും ചെയ്തു.

The Zamorin then transferred his residence from Ernad to the newly conquered country. He founded a town called Vikramapuram with a Siva temple or Tali at its centre. But this name did not become popular. The people called it Kolikkotu¹, the European form of which is Calicut.

This word is explained in various ways. The Keralolpatti² says it is the land where the cock crows. Visscher³ and Gundert⁴ take it to mean so much land as the sound of a cock crowing from its perch could be heard over. Mr. Thorne⁵ is inclined to think that Koli, the vernacular for fowl, was some kind of totem. Sanskrit writers translate it into Kukkuta-krotaram⁶ or hencoop.

But all these explanations seem to be wide off the mark. Kotu⁷ is a synonym for a stronghold or fortress. Koli is really a corruption of Koyi, which again comes from Koyil. The town derives its name from Koyilkotu or Koyilkotta, the fortified palace of the Zamorin, which was its commanding feature.

We do not know exactly when Calicut was founded. According to a Sanskrit chronogram⁸, it took place in A. D. 1042. No reference to Calicut is however found earlier than Ibn Batuta (A. D. 1342-1347)⁹. But, when he visited it, it had already become one of the great ports of Malabar, in which merchants from all parts of the world were to be found.

The prosperity of Calicut was due to many causes. In the first place, it was the capital of an expanding empire.

¹ കോഴിക്കോട്ട.

² *The Keralolpatti*, p. 73.

³ Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter III.

⁴ Gundert, *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 321.

⁵ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 86, note.

⁶ കൂക്കുടകോട്ടരം.

⁷ *The Tamil Lexicon*, p. 1180.

Gundert, *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 314.

⁸ *De-vo-na-ra-ya-na-vyal* (ദോവൊ നാരായണവ്യാൽ).

⁹ *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*.

Secondly, it commanded the waterway that gave access to the pepper country. Thirdly, the Muhammadans preferred this port to any other in the west coast to take their cargoes. According to Barbosa and Castenada, Cheraman Perumal sailed for Mecca from this place. "This partition made", says Barbosa ¹, "the old man took ship, and the nephew, who stayed on that shore, founded a city to which he gave the name of Calicut, and the Moors, in memory of the embarkation of the Indian king there on his way to become a Moor, began to take cargoes of pepper there before any other place, and so the trade of Calicut went on increasing, the city became great and noble, and the king made himself the greatest and most powerful of all in Malabar, and they called him Samidre, which is a distinction above others". Castenada ² repeats more or less the same story. "He (Cheraman Perumal) divided all his territories among them (his kindred) reserving only twelve leagues of country near the place where he intended to embark, not then inhabited, which he bestowed upon one of his cousins, who acted as his page ... Having given away his whole dignities and possessions, and set everything in order, he embarked from the place where Calicut now stands; and because this king embarked from this place on his pilgrimage to Mecca, the Moors have ever since held Calicut in so high a devotion that they and all their posterity would never take their lading from any other port. From that time forwards they discontinued trade with the port of Coulam, which they had used formerly, and that therefore fell to ruin; especially after the building of Calicut and the settlement of many Moors in that place."

When the Moors made Calicut their favourite port the Chinese had perforce to come to Calicut to sell their wares and obtain cargoes of western merchandise. In course of time they establish-

¹ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. II, pp. 5--9.

² Castenada's account in Kerr's *Collection of voyages and travels*, Vol II.

ed a settlement and it was called Chinakotta, because it was surrounded by a wall ¹. Ma Huan, the Chinese Muhammadan, who visited Calicut in A. D. 1403, describes it as a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all quarters. "The commander of the Chinese fleet which left China in A. D. 1408," says he, "did on his arrival at Calicut erect a stone with a Chinese inscription on it to commemorate his visit."².

The rapid rise of Calicut was due not so much to its geographical advantages, nor even to the coming of the Moors and the Chinese, as to the character and policy of the Zamorins, which induced them to flock to this port in such large numbers. The Keralolpatti has some quaint stories to tell us about the honesty of the rulers of Calicut.

³ "A merchant (Chetti) from the east coast, who had been on a trading voyage to Mecca, reached Calicut with a ship overloaded (it is said) with gold. The ship was about to sink in consequence, and the merchant brought it close in shore at Calicut, took out a box of treasure, laid it before the Zamorin,

¹ "According to some old writers of Malabar the Chins or the Chinese were lords of all this train of Malabar lands. They founded their towns and populated their places of which memories were left even to these days: such as Calicut where there is a place called Chinacottah, which means a fort of the Chinese and in like manner in many other places".

(De Couto, *The Decadas* V, Book I).

"ക്രി. 1525 ൽ പാതിക്കോട്ടയുടെ തെക്കുഭാഗത്ത് വണ്ണത്താൻ പാമ്പിലും മീനക്കോട്ടയുടെ തെരുവത്തും കിടങ്ങു കിളച്ചുറപ്പിച്ചു."

(*The Keralapalama*, p. 180)

² Ma Huan, quoted by Padmanabha menon in *The History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 232.

³ കിടക്കെ സമുദ്രതീരത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നൊരുചെട്ടി കപ്പൽകയറി മക്കത്തേക്കു മാടി കച്ചവടം ചെയ്തു, വളരെ പൊന്നുംകൊണ്ടു കപ്പൽചിട്ടിച്ചുതല്ലാതെ കയറുകകൊണ്ടു കപ്പൽ മുങ്ങുമാറായി. കോഴിക്കോട്ടെ തുറക്കുന്നേറെ വന്നതിന്റെശേഷം കരക്കണച്ചു, ഒരു ചെട്ടിയിൽ പൊ

and told his story. The Zamorin directed him to bring the treasure ashore, and to store it in his palace. The merchant accordingly built (it is said) a granite cellar in the king's house, and deposited therein as much of the treasure as could not be conveniently taken away in his ship. He then sailed for his own country, and after a time returned to Calicut, opened the cellar in the presence of the Zamorin, counted out the treasure and finding it correct, divided it into two portions and offered the Zamorin one-half of it. But the Zamorin replied "I do not want your treasure, you may take away the whole". The Chetti, being convinced that this was the most truthful of all kings and Svarupams (dynasties), then asked and obtained permission to trade at Calicut. In this way the bazaar was founded. The Chetti's name was Ambaresan and the cellar erected by him in the Kovilakam bears even to this day the name of Ambaresan-kett.

നെടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു താമുതിരിതിരുമമ്പിൽ തിരുമൽക്കാഴ്ചവെച്ചു വൃത്താന്തം ഉണർത്തിപ്പുതുങ്ങെയ്തു. അതുകേട്ടു രാജാവു നീതന്നെ പൊന്നു ഇവിടെ സൂക്ഷിച്ചുകൊടുവു എന്നുതളിച്ചെഴുതുകയാറെ, ആ വെട്ടി സാമുതിരികോയിലകത്തു ഒരു കരിങ്കല്ല് പണിവെക്കുകയാറെ, സമ്മാനങ്ങൾ വളരെ കൊടുത്തു അദ്ദേഹം കൈയോറ, കപ്പൽപിടിപ്പിച്ചു കണ്ടു നിർത്തി, ശേഷം പൊന്നുകൾ കൈയോറ കൊണ്ടുവന്നു തിരുമമ്പിൽവെച്ചു സംഖ്യയും ബോധിപ്പിച്ചു നല്ലൊരുപൊഴുതിൽ ആ ധനം കല്ലറയിൽ വെച്ചുകയറ്റി യാത്ര ഉണർത്തിച്ചു കപ്പൽകയറി പോകയുംചെയ്തു. അങ്ങിനെ കാലം സ്വല്പം ചെന്നവാനെ അവൻ സൂക്ഷിച്ചു ദ്രവ്യം കൊണ്ടുപോവാത്തശവണ്ണം വന്നു തിരുമൽക്കാഴ്ചവെച്ചു അവസ്ഥ ഉണർത്തിച്ചശേഷം, കല്ലറ തുറന്നു വെച്ചു ദ്രവ്യം എടുത്തു തിരുമമ്പിൽ കാൺകെ സംഖ്യ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചു- രണ്ടാക്കിപകത്തു രാമരടം രാജാവിന്നും രാമരടം തനിക്കും എന്നു പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ "നിന്റെ ദ്രവ്യം നീതന്നെ കൊണ്ടുപോയ്ക്കൊള്ളുക" എന്നുതളിച്ചെഴുതുകേട്ടാറെ "ഇതു നേരത്തു രാജാവും സ്വരൂപവും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നവന്നു ബോധിച്ചു. "ഈ തുറയിൽനിന്നു കടച്ചാടം വെച്ചു നശിക്കുന്നതും എനിക്കു ഏകീ തരികയും വേണം" എന്നു മൺമാട്ടുനോട്ടു

"After this it is said, the men of the port began to make voyages to Mecca in ships, and Calicut became the most famous (port) in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town, and king.

"Yet another tradition is also preserved. It runs that in the town of Muscat two sons were born to a Muhammadan; after they had grown up, the father addressed the elder of the two sons saying:—"After my death you two will fight with each other. The other will kill you. Both of you should not be in the same place. You had better go to some land and pass your days." Thus the father sent away the elder son in a ship. He visited various countries and laid presents before their respective sovereigns. The presents consisted of pickle boxes full of gold, and he used to represent to each king whose honesty he wished to test that the box contained only pickles. All the kings, he visited, on discovering what the boxes really contained, conceal-

കേൾപ്പിച്ചപ്പോൾ അഗ്രകാരം ഉണർന്നിട്ടു തിരുമനസ്സിൽ ബോധിച്ചു. "അങ്ങിനെതന്നെ" എന്നു രാജാവും അരുളിച്ചെയ്തു. പിന്നെ തക്കന്മാരെ വരുത്തി, കടപ്പറത്തു നഗരം കെട്ടുവാൻ കോവിലകത്തുനിന്നു മറീതിരുത്തു, നൂൽപിടിപ്പിച്ച അളന്നു, സ്ഥാനംനോക്കി കററിത്തറച്ചു, നല്ലൊരുപൊഴുതിൽ കല്ലിട്ടു തുണുനാട്ടി തെരു കെട്ടുകയും ചെയ്തു. ചെട്ടി അവിടെ ഇരുന്നു ദാനധർമ്മങ്ങളും ചെയ്തു. ഓട്ടവൊഴിക്കുവും കച്ചോടങ്ങളും തുടങ്ങി, അംബരേശൻ എന്നു വന്നു പേർ. അവൻ ചകായിലകത്തു പണിചെയ്യുന്ന അംബരേശൻ കേട്ടു എന്നു ജനം പറയുന്നു.

മസ്തിയത്തു ചീപികൽ ഇരിവർപ്പുത്രന്മാർ ജനിച്ചുണ്ടായി (ഒരു ബാവയെക്കു പിറന്നവർ. ഇടഞ്ഞപ്പൊഴെ അവരുടെ ബാവ മുതലവനോടു പറഞ്ഞു. "നിങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ മത്സരിച്ചു മറോയവൻ നിന്നെ വധിക്കും എന്റെ ശേഷത്തിങ്കൽ : അതുകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങൾ ഇരുവരും ഇവിടെ ഇരിക്കേണ്ടാ. നീ വല്ല ചീപാനന്തരത്തിങ്കൽ പോയി നിന്റേറടം കഴിക്കെ അതു നിന്നെക്കു നല്ലതു. അതിന്നു നിന്നെക്കു പൊരുപ്പാൻമാരും പൊന്നു തരുമ്പാൻ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു, ഒരു കപ്പലിൽ പിടിപ്പിച്ചു ദ്രവ്യം കൊടുത്തു അവനെ അയച്ചു. അവൻ അനേകം രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽചെന്നു അവിടെവിടെവാഴും രാജാക്കന്മാരെക്കണ്ടു തിരുമൽക്കാഴ്ചവെച്ചാൻ. അ

ed the fact and appropriated the gold, but at last the experiment was tried on the Zamorin, and the Zamorin at once called him up and said "You mistook one thing for another. This is not pickles but gold". The traveller thereupon concluded that here at last was a trustworthy king, and so he settled down at Calicut."

Foreign travellers bear ample testimony to the freedom and security which they had at Calicut. The Arabs, who knew every port in the west coast from Deibal to Cape Comorin, would not lightly abandon their old haunts and resorts in favour of a new city, which had no traditions behind it. What advantages and privileges they enjoyed at the hands of the Zamorin may be inferred from the account of Ablur Razak, the special envoy sent to Calicut by the Persian king.

"Calicut", says he¹, "is a perfectly secure harbour, which like that of Ormuz, brings together merchants from every city and every country : in it are to be found abundances of precious articles brought thither from maritime countries, especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad and Zanguebar; from time to time ships arrive there from the shores of the House of God and other parts of Hedjaz, and abide at will, for a greater or longer space in this harbour ; the town is inhabited by infidels . It contains a considerable number of Musalmans, who are constant residents and have built two mosques, in which they meet every

ഒരു എന്തെല്ലാം കാഴ്ചവെച്ചു, അച്ചാരപ്പച്ചിപ്പെട്ടിയിൽ ചൊന്നും വെച്ചു ചുറ്റും അച്ചാരം പാഞ്ഞു വെക്കും. അങ്ങിനെ ചൊല്ലാൻ കാരണം അവരവരുടെ നേരം നേരകേടും തിരിച്ചറിഞ്ഞു വിശ്വസിച്ചാനായിട്ടു (നേരക്കൂടിയതു തനിക്കിരപ്പാൻ) അവരവരെ പരീക്ഷിച്ചാൻതന്നെ ഇങ്ങിനെ വെച്ചുകണ്ടതു. രാജാക്കൾ ആരും അതിന്റെ നേർ പാഞ്ഞതില്ല. ചിന്നെ പുത്തറക്കോണെ കണ്ടു വെച്ചുവാൻ പാഞ്ഞു. "ഇതാ ഇതു നിന്നോടു പകർന്നുപോയി, ഇതച്ചാരല്ല സ്വർണം (ആകുന്നു)" എന്നു പറഞ്ഞവരാരെ "വിശ്വസിച്ചാൻ നന്നു" എന്നു വന്നു ബോധിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഇങ്ങിനെ കോഴിക്കോട്ടു കോയവന്ന പ്രകാരം".

¹ Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 13—14,

Friday to offer up prayer. They have one Kadi, a priest, and for the most part they belong to the sect of Schafei. Security and justice are so firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload and unhesitatingly send into the markets and bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods. The officers of the custom house take upon themselves the charge of looking after the merchandise over which they keep watch day and night. When a sale is effected they levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part ; if they are not sold they make no charge on them whatsoever.

In other parts a strange practice is adopted. When a vessel sets sail for a certain point, and is suddenly driven by a decree of Divine Providence into another roadstead, the inhabitants, under the pretext that the wind has driven it there, plunder the ship. But at Calicut, every ship, whatever place it may come from or where it may be bound, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels and has no trouble of any kind to put up with." In another place the Persian ambassador remarks ² "In this harbour one can find everything that can be desired. One thing alone is forbidden, namely to kill a cow or to eat its flesh; whosoever should be discovered slaughtering or eating one of these animals would be immediately punished with death."

Both friends and foes alike acknowledge the courtesy shown by the king of Calicut to strangers. "When we approached this place," says Ibn Batuta ², "the people came out to meet us, and with a large concourse brought us into the port." The reception accorded to Vasco da Gama exceeded his most sanguine expectations, so much so that he could not help ex-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

² *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*,

claiming "They little think in Portugal how honourably we are received here." ¹

Though last to be mentioned, not the least important among the causes that made Calicut the meeting-place of nations was the religious policy of the Manavikramans. People enjoyed absolute freedom of worship. The king not only did not interfere with their religion but protected them against molestation by others on religious grounds. "Calicut", says Pyrard de Laval², "is the busiest and most full of all traffic and commerce in the whole of India; it has merchants from all parts of the world, and of all nations and religions by reason of the liberty and security accorded to them there; for the king permits the exercise of every religion, and yet it is strictly forbidden to talk, dispute or quarrel on that subject, so that there never arises any contention on that score, every one living in great liberty of conscience under the favour or authority of the king, who holds that to be a cardinal maxim of government with a view to making his kingdom very rich and of great intercourse".

¹ Castaneda's Account of India in Kerr's *Collections of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II.

² *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, p. 404.

THE MAMAKAM

About a century after the conquest of Polanad the Zamorin became the Rakshapurushan or the protector of the Mamakam. It was a festival held once in twelve years at Tirunavayi on the banks of the Bharatappula.

From remote times Tirunavayi seems to have been a very sacred place in Kerala. The river here is considered to assume a special sanctity, because it flows between the temple of Mahavishnu, installed by the Navayogis, on its right bank and the temples of Brahma and Siva on its left ¹. It was the traditional head-quarters of the mythical Brahmin hero, Parasurama. ² It was the centre of an amphictyonic league with the control of nineteen temples round about. According to the Keralolpatti, the assembly that came to the momentous decision of bringing a foreign Perumal was held here ³. It was at this place that the Namputiris invested their first Perumal with his authority ⁴; and it was from here also that Cheraman Perumal is supposed to have made his famous partition of Kerala ⁵. Before the intrusion of the Tamil rulers the temples were looked after by a Sabhayogam, in which the thirty-two pure Brahmin settlements were represented. And the festival was conducted by the Rakshapurushas or the protectors of the four Kalakams, whose duty was not only to fix the flag-staff and thus inaugurate the festival ⁶ but to see that it was celebrated without any hitch or hindrance.

¹ *The Keralikshetramahatmyam*, p. 108.

² *The Keralamahatmyam*, Chap. 52.

³ *The Keralolpatti*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

As the festival was held in the year called Mahamagha, one of the twelve years of the lesser Brabhaspatya cycle ¹, it came to be known as the Mahamagham, which became Mamakam in Malayalam. During the festival it was believed that Goddess Ganga descended into the Bharatappula and by her miraculous advent made the river as holy as the Ganges itself. Misled by Hamilton's description of the Mamakam of A. D. 1195, Sir James Frazer constructed a theory of succession by the sword. And bowing to his authority, Malabar historians used to derive this word from Mahamakham or the great sacrifice, and Maghamagham or the festival of Magha in the month of Magha. ²

We do not know when this festival ³ was instituted at Tirunavayi. "The institution of this feast", says Francis Wrede⁴, "seems to be of the most remote antiquity, at least prior to the government of the Perumals, who used to preside over it." Tirunavayi is one of the very few places in India where Brahma has a shrine. As he is given equal importance with the other two members of the Hindu triad, these temples must have been founded long ago, before Brahma receded to the background and ceased to be worshipped.

At first conducted by the Namputiris, the festival came to be celebrated under the aegis of the Tamil rulers of Tiruvanchikulam. How and when they became its protectors we can

¹ Sewell *Indian Chronography*, p. 65.

² Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*. pp. Vol. I, pp. 309-310.

Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 274-278,
Warren, *Kalasankhalita*, p. 27,

Padmanabha Menon, *The Mamakam* (in *The Janmi*)
Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 164 et seq.

³ This festival is celebrated even now at Kumbakonam, Ujjain, Nasik, Prayag and Hardwar, though only for a day not for a month as it had been in Kerala.

⁴ *The Transactions of the Literary Society, Bombay*, pp. 2-3.

only guess. The Keralolpatti tells us that the Namputiris were not able to live in peace, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and sought the interference of foreign powers to maintain law and order. As we have unimpeachable evidence to prove that the Namputiris had nothing to do with the bringing of Tamil rulers to Kerala, these stories have perhaps some reference to the disagreements that arose amongst them in respect of the management of these temples. If so, the installation of the Perumal must be interpreted as his formal investiture with all Koyam rights over the temple or as an attempt to explain away their submission to a foreign ruler. As the Namputiri villages of Chovaram and Panniyur appear as attestors along with the Samanta chiefs in Vira Raghava Chakravarti's grant ¹, the establishment of the Perumal's authority over the Namputiris in general and Tirunavayi in particular must have taken place before the last quarter of the eighth century A. D.

When Cheraman Perumal divided his kingdom, says the Keralolpatti ², he gave Tirunavayi sand bank and country and the privilege of conducting the Mamakam festival with 10,000 Nayars to Valluvakkonattiri. He also assigned to him, the Tirumanankunnath Bhagavati, sacred to Chovarakkur, as his guardian deity.

From the Keralolpatti ³ it would also appear that the project against the Vellatri was first suggested by the Calicut Koya.

¹ See p. 74 note, *supra*.

² കടക്കം മഹാമലവെല ആവരിച്ചു നടത്തുവാൻ വളുവക്കോ നാതിരി രാജാവിന്നു തിരുനാവായിമണൽപ്പുറവും നാടും ൧൦,൦൦൦ നായരും കല്പിച്ചുകൊടുത്തു, ആറങ്ങോട്ടുസ്വരൂപം എന്നരുളിച്ചെയ്തു. സ്വരൂപം രക്ഷിപ്പാൻ ചൊവരക്കുറ്ററിൽ തിരുമാനംകുന്നത്തു ഭഗവതിയെ സ്ഥാനപരദേവതയാക്കി കല്പിക്കയും ചെയ്തു. (*The Keralolpatti*, p. 72)

³ “കർക്കവ്യാഴം കുംഭമാസത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടല്ലോ മഹാമലം, അന്നാരം തിരുനാവായി പേരാറിൽ തീയ്യം. അവിടെ ഈ കേരളത്തിങ്കൽ ചൊവരക്കുറ്ററിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാർക്കു നിലപാടും സ്ഥാനമാനങ്ങളും

He had been to the Mamakam to witness the power and majesty of the kings of Chovarakkur. On his return he came to the Zamorin to pay his respects. At the request of the king he described all the pomp and grandeur he had seen, and concluded by saying "All these places are destined to fall into our hands." When the Zamorin protested that it was beyond his means, the Koya said "If Your Majesty wishes to have this dignity (of protecting and conducting the Mamakam festival), Your Majesty's servant will secure it by force." Thereupon

മുണ്ടല്ലോ. അതിനെ കാണാൻ കോയ പുറപ്പെട്ടു രാജാവിനെ കേൾപ്പിച്ചു മഹാമകവും കണ്ടുവരികയും ചെയ്തു. "എങ്ങിനെ" എന്നുവാറെ "ഈ മഹാമകത്തിന്നു ദിവ്യതീരം ഒഴുകുക എന്നിയെ മറ്റൊന്നെല്ലാം അലങ്കാരം ഉള്ളു" എന്നു തളിച്ചെഴുതുന്നതായ്: "അവിടെ ഉള്ള അലങ്കാരം കര കരവെ അറിയിച്ചു എന്നല്ല, ഈ സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെ നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ അത്രെ വിധി ആകുന്നതു എന്നു അറിയിച്ചുവാറെ അതു തളിച്ചെഴുതുന്ന മഹാരാജാവ്: "അതിന്നു നമ്മാൽ കണ്ടുവരിക" എന്നു കേട്ടുവാറെ പറഞ്ഞു. "ഈ സ്ഥാനം ഇങ്ങു വേണമെന്നുവരികിൽ അടിയൻ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവരും" എന്നു കേട്ടുവാറെ പുത്തറക്കോൻ: "എങ്കിൽ നിന്നെ വലത്തുഭാഗത്തു നിർത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു" എന്നു കേട്ടപ്പോൾ, അവൻ കടലുകയും മറ്റുള്ളവർ കരയുകയും തെക്കോട്ടെ പടുകൂടി ഒഴുകി, ഭാരത നാടും നഗരങ്ങളും ഗ്രാമങ്ങളും ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും അടക്കിക്കൊണ്ടു, വ്യാഴവട്ടം തികയുമ്പോഴെങ്കിലും തിരുനാവായിൽ എത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു (ഈ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളും അടക്കി). അവന്നു മികവിനാലെ കമ്പവെടി കല്ലുകയും തീത്തു പണ്ടാൽ കണ്ടിട്ടില്ലാത്ത വിശേഷം, എന്നെക്കും കുറവുവരാതെ ഇരിപ്പാൻ മുതലുംവെച്ചു, അങ്ങു "കോഴിക്കോട്ടു കോയ" എന്ന പേരും വിളിച്ചു, അനേകം സ്ഥാനങ്ങളും കൊടുത്തു വലത്തുഭാഗത്തു നിർത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. അന്നു മോവരക്കുറ്ററിൽ ഉള്ള സ്ഥാനം പന്നിയൂർക്കുറ്ററിലെ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ആ പരിഭവത്തിന്നു അന്നുതന്നെ തിരുമാനംകുന്നത്തു മേവതിയുടെ ആജ്ഞയാലെ ഇന്നു (അങ്കപോരണായി) മരിക്കുന്നു ആർക്കോട്ടു സ്വരൂപത്തിലുള്ള മേവകർ എന്നറിക. ആ സ്വരൂപത്തിലെ മേൽക്കോയ് മേവിട്ടു നെടിയിരുപ്പു സ്വരൂപത്തിലേക്കടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. അന്നുതന്നെ അവൾ രാജാക്കന്മാർക്കും മറ്റേവർക്കും പകൽക്കൊണ്ടും ആയ്വന്നു. ഭാരത നാടും നഗരവും പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവന്നു. അന്നു സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ എൽക്കും മറ്റൊരു നില്ലാതെ ആയി". *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

the Punturakkon said "If you do so you shall stand on Our right side". Immediately the Koya proceeded by sea and the others by land to the south, and subduing Nads and towns, villages and temples, before Jupiter completed his cycle, occupied Tirunavayi (and took possession of all the rights and dignities connected with the temple and its festival). That day he made a display of the fire-works known as Kampaveti and Kalpalaka. The Zamorin gave him inexhaustible wealth, called him Calicut Koya, and granting him many other rights, caused him to stand on his right side. On that day the dignities belonging to Chovarakkur were assumed by Panniyurkur. Know that on account of that humiliation, from that day, by the command of Tirumanamkunnattu Bhagavati, the followers of Arangottur die in Amkappor or trial by battle even today. The suzerainty of Arangottur Svarupam passed on that day to Nediyruppu Svarupam. From that day the fate of the former was to wander by night, of the latter to conquer Nad and town by day. That day it came to pass that no enemy could defeat this Svarupam".

Another version represents the Koya securing this privilege to the Zamorin by a stratagem. He waited upon the Valluvakkonattiri, and by way of flattering him said that he was the greatest king in Kerala and the Mamakam was its most convincing evidence. With the modesty characteristic of noble minds the king disavowed all claim to superiority over other kings on this ground, saying that the Mamakam became his privilege because the Perumal had conferred it upon him. "No, no," protested the Koya, "I will prove the truth of what I say. Proclaim that the right of conducting the Mamakam festival will be the prize of the hero who will cut down Your Majesty on the Vakayur platform, and Your Majesty shall see no one comes forward to make the desperate attempt". The Valluvakkonattiri blindly walked into the trap. Before the next Mamakam he caused it to be proclaimed that the privilege of Rakshapuran would go to him who succeeded in killing him when he stood in state on the Manittara. When the festival came round, the

followers of the Zamorin managed to penetrate through his body-guard and kill him. Thus the right of conducting the Mamakam passed to the Zamorin. Ever since the Valluvakkonattiri used to send the Chaver Panikkars to kill his adversary during the Mamakam and recover the long-lost right.

Still another version has it that the Zamorin even promised to marry the Koya's daughter if the enterprise ended in success. But he began to repent of his rash and hasty promise, as it involved the loss of caste. At last a way was found out of the difficulty. It was arranged that when he came to Calicut for the first time after his accession he should receive, as soon as he crossed the river at Kallayi, betel and tobacco from the hands of a Moplah dressed as a woman—this being considered tantamount to a marriage¹.

These are merely fanciful stories, devoid of any historical foundation. The Zamorin required no suggestions or promptings from others to turn his arms against the Vellatri. Sooner or later he was bound to proceed against Tirunavayi : its conquest was inevitable. The Rajabs of Chaliyam, Bypore and Parappanad looked upon him as their protector. The Rajah of Vettet was his right-hand man. Thus he was the overlord of all the lands stretching along the coast in an unbroken line from Calicut to Ponnani. Situated on the Bharatappula, the Ganges of Kerala and the main artery of communication with the interior, Tirunavayi was a place of considerable importance². Ever alert to increase his empire, he could not but see the advantage of sitting astride the Bharatappula, commanding its

¹ See page 31 *supra*.

(²) This is most probably the Naoura of *The Periplus* and Tandilam near Ponnani its Tyndis. If this identification is correct the Chera rulers must have extended their authority to these places as early as the first century A. D. and the Namputiris must have come even earlier, though the Sangam poets do not mention them.

entrance into the deep. The Kur-matsaram among the Namputiris gave him a pretext, if a pretext were needed in an age when conquest was inculcated as the duty of kings, to attack the Vellatri.

The Kur-matsaram was in origin a war between the two Namputiri villages of Panniyur and Chovaram in the Ponnani Taluk of the present Malabar District, which, like the war between Athens and Sparta in ancient Greece, divided the country into two hostile camps and prevented it from attaining political unity. Panniyur was from the very beginning an important settlement of the Namputiris. Four thousand out of the sixty-four thousand who received the gift of arms from Parasurama, says the tradition¹, belonged to Panniyur. It was one of the our original Kalakams, and it continued to retain its high position and influence even after the other three Kalakams of Perinbellur, Chenganiyur and Parappur had sunk in importance. Chovaram or Sukapuram is situated about six miles to the south-west of Panniyur. It was also one of the traditional sixty-four settlements of Parasurama. Once in twelve years all those who have performed sacrifices register their names in the books of its pagoda.

We do not know when the Kur-matsaram began. The appearance of these two villages as representatives of the Namputiris in Vira Raghava Chakravarti's grant² indicates that already before the ninth century the Brahmin settlements of Kerala had all been enlisted under the banner of the one or the other.

We do not know also when the Kur-matsaram ended. It must have been hastened by the Panniyur sacrilege³. The

¹ *The Kerala Ipatti*, pp. 5, 6, 15.

² See page 47 *supra*, note 4.

³ The chronogram, *Chit-ta-cha-la-nam*, assigns it to the Kali year 3666, corresponding to A. D. 563. But this is earlier than Vira Raghava Chakravarti's grant and therefore unacceptable.

inhabitants of this village were divided by a schism. The reformers wanted to import strangers and introduce new forms of worship. The conservatives refused to allow this, whereupon they defiled the temple of Varahamurti and placed a red hot vessel on the head of his image. Stricken with horror and fear, the orthodox fled from the place, most of them taking refuge at Irinjalakkuda. The Zamorin as the protector of the Brahmins punished the daring innovators by degrading them to the rank of Nampisans ¹.

The results of the war outlasted the ruin of Panniyur. Though the orthodox disowned their connexion with their original village they could not change their habits. And the difference between the two parties still survives in the mode of tying the cloth, painting the caste-mark on the forehead, and dressing vegetables. More important than these quaint survivals was the division of Kerala into the Panniyurkur and Chovarakur. De Couto, writing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, refers to this rivalry. "The people of Malabar," says he, "at this period were divided into two parties on account of the hatred that existed between the king of Cochin and that of Calicut. These parties were known as Paydarieuros and Logiri-curos or Jogreculos, the former being the name of the Zamorin's party, while the latter that of the king of Cochin." ²

¹ They were restored to their original caste on 1st Chingam 935 M. E., corresponding to A. D. 1760, on their payment of a fine of 23000 Fanams and the cession of the four Kalams of Manhalur, Sandiriti, Nenmini, and Tenkurissi. (*Calicut Granthavari*)

² De Couto, *Decadas*, Vol V, Sec. 1, Chap. 1.

Visacher, writing a century later, compares it to the great civil wars of history. "Not only is the whole of Malabar," says he,¹ occupied by a multiplicity of kings and potentates, a circumstance causing in itself endless discussion, but these again are broadly ranged into two parties, whose hatred is the more effectual and probably the more interminable, seeing that it arises from the unfair distinctions introduced by the original laws of the kingdom.

The adherents of the two parties are called Pandelakoers (Panniyurkur) and the Chodderakoers (Chovarakkur), and just as Italy was formerly torn by the rival factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, and England distracted by the wars of the white and red roses, and the Netherlands had to shed tears owing to the ravages of the Kaabeljancos and the Flocks, so has the trumpet of war blown by the Pandelakoers and Chodderakoers often summoned the princes of Malabar to mutual hostilities".

We do not know how the war which had such disastrous results was caused. It is said that Parasurama himself divided Kerala into boar-worshippers, and bird-worshippers, the former headed by Panniyur, and the latter by Chovaram². Another tradition is that the dissension was the work of Cheraman Perumal himself, who created it to maintain his partition and prevent the Nayars from becoming effeminate. A third view is that the war arose out of the quarrels of two families, each of

¹ Visacher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter VIII.

² Padmanabha Menon, *The History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 419.

which owned a pagoda¹. The war is also traced to foreign intervention; the Rashtrakutas, being Saivites, assisted Chovaram against Panniyur, which was supported by the Chalukyas, who

¹ Viisscher is aware of both these traditions, for he writes as follows:—"Regarding the origin of these two parties I find two different accounts, which are not unworthy of record. Some will have it that the great Cheraraperumal, who partitioned Malabar and made laws for it which are still observed, instituted them for two important reasons, the first of which was to confirm the distribution of kingdoms that he had made; for, being about to undertake a journey, either to the Ganges in fulfilment of a vow or, as the Moors say, to visit Mahomet in Arabia for the purpose of embracing his religion, he divided among his favourites the whole of Malabar. Now, he assigned the kingdom of the Zamorin to his illegitimate children, who according to the laws could not inherit, and it was natural to suppose that this would cause umbrage to his nephews, who were the lawful heirs of the crown and to whom he had only given the kingdom of Cochin. They would probably use every endeavour to recover their rights when opportunity offered. For this reason he originated these two parties, and he regulated the number of princes, noblemen, etc., who should belong to each, with the express command that if a king, prince, or landowner should be attacked by one of the opposite faction, he should be assisted by all the members of his own party, under pain or loss of privileges. The Zamorin King was appointed chief of the Pandelakoer (Panniyurkur) and received a sword in token of his authority; and the King of Cochin as chief of the Chodderakoers (Chovarakkur) received a shield. Cheramperumal's second reason for establishing these factions was to create a martial spirit; lest, living in perpetual peace, the Malabar people should sink into effiminacy, and thus become a prey to the surrounding nations.

The other tradition is that there were formerly two families, possessors of two pagodas. The name of the one was

worshipped the pig incarnation of Vishnu.¹ Another story connects this with the temple of Dakshinamurti. Panniyur was from the first associated with the government of the country and its defence. Gradually its neighbour, Chovaram, also came to prominence, taking the place of Perinbellur, Parappur and Chenganiyur. Thinking that the success of their rivals was due to the grace of Siva, the Panniyur villagers resolved to worship him also, but in his most powerful aspect as Dakshinamurti. The opposite party was frightened, and while the ceremony of installation was in progress they succeeded somehow in removing the image to their village. Thereupon Panniyur attacked Chovaram and burnt it. The vanquished sought the help of Arangot and Perumpatappu, whereupon the victors appealed to Nediyruppu. Thus the war gradually spread to every nook and corner of Kerals, and arranged it in two hostile parties ready to fly at each other's throats.

Whatever the origin of the Kur-matsaram, the immediate cause of the war which resulted in the Zamorin's occupation of

Pandels, that of the other *Choddars*, and the former, being the strongest and most powerful, attacked the latter and plundered them, until the Choddars implored help from the prince of Walwonatti in order to revenge themselves on the Pandels. These now, being unable to withstand their enemies alone, conspired with the Zamorin against them; and thus drove them to apply in their turn to the King of Cochin, who consequently became the head of the Choddar party, while the Zamorin assumed the character of the protector of that of the Pandels. Each of these monarchs enticed others to espouse their causes, and the dissensions thus originating have descended to posterity."

(Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter VIII.)

¹ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, p. 275.

Tirunavayi was the invasion of Tirumanasserinad¹ by its neighbours on either side, Arangot and Perumpatappu. Lying like 'an earthen pipkin between two iron pots' the Rajah of Tirumanasserri appealed to the Zamorin for help, and ceded Ponnani as the price of his protection. The Zamorin advanced by land and sea. The main army, commanded by him, approached Tirunavayi from the north. The Eralpad, proceeding by sea, occupied Ponnani and Tirumanasserri, and attacked the Vellatri from the west. The campaign was bitter and protracted, so much so the Zamorin despairing of success, says the tradition, sought divine help by propitiating the tutelary deity of his own enemy. The war was at last decided by the fall of two princes belonging to the Vellatri. The Zamorin became the master of Tirunavayi, and assumed the proud position of the protector of the Mamakam.

All those who had taken part in the war received liberal rewards. To the Eralpad was given the privilege of standing in state on the left bank of the river whenever the Zamorin appeared on the Vakayur platform on its right bank. The Munalpad obtained the honour of standing in state under the Kuriyal, midway between the temple of Tirunavayi and Vakayur on the day of Ayilyam or the ninth lunar asterism. The

¹ This consisted of 146 Desams, bounded by Uppattodu in the east, Pookaitapula in the south, the sea in the west and Bharatappula in the north. Its Rajah, a Brahmin, was the head of the Panniyur Namputiris. He was considered the protector of all the Brahmins living between Perinchellur and Chenganur, and he enjoyed Koyma rights over thirteen temples including that of Talipparamba. He was the leader of the Namputiri Samghas of Kolattur and Palghat, and he had 3000 Nayars under him. Chief among his vassals were Kolikkolli Nayar (300), Kottolpata Nayar (300), Patinhare Nampati (500), Irikkalikkara Nayar (300), Maniyur Nampati (100), Mukkattakatt Nayar (500) and Mangat Nampati (100). (*The Mackenzie Collection*).

Rajah of Bettet ¹ was conceded the same privilege, but his standing in state came on the day of Puyam, the eighth lunar asterism. Tirumanasseri was attached to the Erulpad's suite in all the ceremonies connected with the Mamakam and Taipuyam and given the right of collecting a small fee during the great festival from every merchant who set up his booth on the sandy river-bed. The Rajah of Cranganore ² was given the prerogative of supervising the feeding of the Brahmins throughout the festival. The Calicut Koya was also loaded with honours. He was given the title of Sababantra Koya, all the privileges and dignities of a Nayar chief, jurisdiction over all the Muhammadans residing in the bazaar, the right to receive a small present from the Iluvass, the Kammalans and the Mukkuvans whenever the Zamorin conferred any honours upon them (which they had at once to report to him), to collect from the brokers at the rate of 10 Fanams for every foreign ship that might put in at Calicut and levy a poll tax of 16 Fanams at Pantarakkatavu and 12 Fanams at Beypore, the privilege of sending the Mopla drummers and pipers for every marriage and Kaliyattu or religious play, and the duty of removing the roof of any offender in Velapuram condemned to lose hearth and home. At the Mamakam he was in charge of the fireworks. He arranged for Kampaveti and Kalpalaka and also for mock

¹ The Rajah of Bettet is generally regarded as a Kshatriya, though in the Agnivamsarajakatha he appears as a Brahmin. He had 4000 Nayars under him. At his accession he paid the Zamorin a succession fee of 100 bags of rice, 3000 cocoanuts and 1000 Fanams. He accompanied the Zamorin and Punnattur when the former entered the tank for Pulakuli, and enjoyed the privilege of pouring rice on his head during his Ariyittuyvalcha. (*The Calicut Granthavari*). See also pages 20 and 26 *supra*.

² The Rajahs of Cranganore or the Patinhattedattu Svarupam were descended, according to tradition, from the nephew of the Perumal, Bhattanarayana Chola. Their relations with the Nediyruppu Svarupam were very intimate; they had the privilege, which they still enjoy, of tying the Tali round the neck of the Tampurattis at their Talikettu ceremony. (See page 7 *supra*).

fights between ships in the river. But the privilege which added most to his dignity and prestige was that of standing on the left side of the Zamorin on the Vakayur platform on the last day of the festival ¹.

To the Zamorins the Mamakam was not only a religious festival but also an occasion for the display of all their pomp and power as the emperors of Kerala ². So long as they ruled Kerala not a single Mahamagha had gone without its festival. Some of the Zamorins even celebrated it in two successive years—not only when Jupiter was in *Leo* but also when he was in

¹*The Mackenzie Collection.*

‡ കോളരാജ്യത്തിൽ പുരാണദ്രുസിദ്ധമായി നീള എന്നും പ്രതിപി എന്നും പേരായിട്ടുള്ള പെരാറ എന്ന നദിയുടെ ഉത്തരതീരത്തിൽ നവയോഗികളുടെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠയായിരിക്കുന്ന ചൊവ്വിട്ടുവിന്റെ നിത്യസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം പരിപൂർണ്ണമായിരിക്കുന്ന തിരുനാവായ എന്ന പുണ്യക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ചൊവ്വിട്ടുവിനും മേലെഴുതിയ പേരാറ എന്ന ചൊന്നടിക്കും ചിങ്ങംവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മാഘമാസം 28 ദിവസവും വലുതായിട്ടുള്ള മഹോത്സവം ആകുന്നത. മേലെഴുതിയ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ ശംശ തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുള്ള പുണ്യതീർത്ഥങ്ങളുടെ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യം മേലെഴുതിയ നീള എന്ന നദിയിൽ ഉണ്ടു എന്നു പുരാണങ്ങളിൽ പറയുന്നതും ഉണ്ടു. മേലെഴുതിയ ഉത്സവം പരിപാലിച്ചാനായിക്കൊണ്ടു നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ ചൊരാജാവു ആറുന്ന സാമൂതിരിരാജാവും ശേഷം നാലുകൂറുവാഴ്ചയിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാരും, മന്ത്രിപ്രധാനികളും, സേനാപതികളും ചൊറാജാജനരും സകലമാന ജനങ്ങളോടുംകൂടി മേലെഴുതിയ തിരുനാവായ ചൊറാക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്റെ സന്നിധാനത്തിൽ കോവിലകങ്ങളും പണിചെയ്യിച്ചു ഇരുന്ന മേൽഘൃതീയ ജനങ്ങൾ എല്ലാവരോടും സകലമാന വിരുതുകളോടുംകൂടി മേൽപറഞ്ഞ ചൊവ്വിട്ടുവിന്റെ ഉത്സവവും നദിയുടെ ഉത്സവവും നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിന്റെ പ്രതാപവും കൂടി ഒന്നായി മേലെഴുതിയ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ 28ദിവസവും നിലപാടും ഘോഷയാത്രയും നടത്തി സകലമാന ജനങ്ങൾക്കും അന്നദാനവുംചെയ്തു സന്തോഷിപ്പിച്ചു നിത്യവും നദിയിൽ സ്നാനവുംചെയ്തു ചൊവ്വിട്ടുവിനേയും സേവിച്ചു ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ ആശീർവാദത്തോടുകൂടി ഇരിക്കുമാറാകുന്നതു. ഇപ്രകാരം മാമാങ്കവേല അലങ്കരിച്ചിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ മേലെഴുതിയ മലയാളത്തിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാർ എല്ലാവരും അതിശയപദാർത്ഥങ്ങളായിട്ടുള്ള ഉപായനങ്ങളൊക്കെയും കൊടുത്തുകൊടുമാറാകുന്നതു. (*Oaliout Granthavari*).

Crab. The last Mamakam was that of A. D. 1755. Before the next the Mysoreans had invaded Kerala and Haider had occupied Calicut.

In the year immediately preceding the Mamakam a festival called Tai-Puyam was held on Puyam, the eight lunar asterism, in the month of Tai or Makaram, corresponding to January-February. It was a miniature Mamakam, the Zamorin going through all the ceremonies which marked the last day of the great festival, which lasted thirty days from Puyam in Makaram (January-February) to Makam in Kumbham (February-March) ¹.

¹ The twenty-seven lunar asterisms are :—

(1) Asvati	(10) Makam	(19) Mulam
(2) Bharani	(11) Puram	(20) Puratam
(3) Kartika	(12) Utram	(21) Utradam
(4) Rohini	(13) Attam	(22) Tiruvonam
(5) Makiram	(14) Chitra	(23) Avittam
(6) Tiruvatira	(15) Svati	(24) Chatayam
(7) Punartam	(16) Visakham	(25) Purorattati
(8) Puyam	(17) Anisham	(26) Uttarattati
(9) Ayilyam	(18) Ketta	(27) Revati.

The twelve Malayalam months are :—

- (1) Kanni (September-October) (2) Tulam (October-November)
 (3) Vrischikam (November-December). (4) Dhanu (December-January). (5) Makaram (January-February). (6) Kumbham (February-March). (7) Minam (March-April). (8) Metam (April-May). (9) Etavam (May-June). (10) Mithunam (June-July) (11) Karkatakam (July-August) (12) Chingham (August-September).

The twelve lunar months are :—

(1) Bhadrapada	(5) Pushya	(9) Vaisakha
(2) Asvayuja	(6) Magha	(10) Jyeshtha
(3) Kartika	(7) Phalgun	(11) Ashadha
(4) Margasirsha	(8) Chitra	(12) Sravana.

As soon as the rains subsided in August-September preparations were begun for the coming festival. First, a letter was "written to Pandya", a reminiscence of Chera days, when the relations between them and the Pandyas were very intimate. Then circular letters were sent to the feudatories and body-guards, commanding them to be present at Tirunavayi for the Mamakam as in days past¹. Special officers were appointed for the festival, the most important of whom was Parappalli Nayakan, who was responsible for the construction of sheds, houses and palaces to house the vast multitudes that assembled there.

At an auspicious moment fixed by the Alur Kanikal, the state-astrologer, a decorated pillar was planted at Vakayur and the construction of the Manittara or the *daïs*, on which the Zamorin had to appear on certain days of the festival, was begun. The two banks of the river, the right and the left, were guarded by Kottol Patanayakan and Vayyavinat Nampati respectively.

"The Tirunavayi temple, which the Zamorin had to visit on certain days, stands on the north bank of the Ponnani River close to the present line of railway. Passengers by train can catch a glimpse of it by looking across the level expanse of paddy fields which lie south of the sixth telegraph post on the three hundred and eighty-second mile of the railway. There is a modest clump of trees on the river bank, hiding the temple,

The royal writ ran as follows:—

¹ "Royal writing to the *Akampati Janam* (body-guards). (On the 5th Makaram 858) is Mamaka Talpuyam and the Lokars are required to attend at Tirunavayi as in olden times. Mangat Raman and Tinayaucheri are sent to collect and bring you in regular order for the Mamakam. You must come to Tirunavayi (on the 3rd Makaram) to fight and foil as usual. But all of you should come for the Mamakam." (*Calicut Granthavari* about the Mamakam of 858 M. E.)

the western gate-way of which faces a perfectly straight piece of road, a little over half a mile in length, stretching from the temple gate-way westwards to the elevated ridge, terminating in the paddy fields on the west. This road is but little raised above the level of the paddy flat. Directly facing this straight piece of road as the elevated ridge is reached, there are three or perhaps four terraces, the outlines of which may still be traced on the face of the precipitous bank.

A little to one side of the upper terrace are the ruins of a strongly built powder magazine, and on the flat ground above and on both sides of the fine avenue shading the public road at this place is ample space for the erection of temporary houses.

In a neighbouring enclosure under cultivation is a disused well of fine proportions and of most solid construction.

It was on the upper terrace alluded to, on a smooth plateau of hard laterite rock, raised some thirty or forty feet above the plain, that the platform (called Manittara) was erected, on which the Zamorin had to take his stand with the sword of Cheraman Perumal in his hand ¹.

About half a mile to the west of the platform was the palace of Vakayur, extended and made gay with flags, festoons and flowers, the residence of the Zamorin during the festival.

On one side of the palace, commanding a view of the whole scene from the platform to the temple, was the Ampati or the palace of the Tampurattis. On the left front, behind the temple, were the mansions of the third, fourth and fifth princes, while

¹ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, pp. 165-166.

This was not Cheraman Perumal's sword but that of the Zamorin himself, the Perumal's sword was either kept in the chapel or if taken out was carried by a Namputiri.

opposite to them stood the residences assigned to the four ministers, Acchan, Elayatu, Panikkar and Nampi. The Eralpad had his camp on the left bank of the river. Within its enclosure was constructed a platform similar to the Manittara at Vakayur. In the middle of the river was erected a two-storeyed pavilion for the Zamorin's nirattukuli or bath. The straight piece of road, leading from the western gate of the temple to the palace at Vakayur, was protected from the rushing crowds by barred palisadings, placed two spears' length apart, on either side of which stood the guards during the procession.

The Zamorin came to Vakayur on Punartam, the seventh lunar asterism, in Makaram, and the next day the festival began. For him it was not a merry round of sight-seeing and pleasure; it was an ordeal, severe but pleasant, which taxed all his energies to their almost.

¹ Early in the morning of Puyam or the eighth lunar asterism, after ablutions and Vayarattam, he put on his jewels,

¹ These ceremonies do not at all vary from Mamakam to Mamakam. They remain the same throughout. The following is the palace chronicle for the Mamakam of 906 M. E., corresponding to A. D. 1731:—

മകരമാസം 14ാം നം- പുയത്തുനാൾ രാവിലെ തൃക്കാൽ കഴുകി
 തെവാരവും വയറെയ്യാട്ടവും കഴിഞ്ഞ അണിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളിയ
 തിന്റെ ശേഷം നന്ദാവനത്തിൽ നമ്പി പൂർത്തിയായ മലിയല തെറി
 ന്ന ഉഴിഞ്ഞ മാർത്തിച്ച മത്തുക്കലയും മാർത്തിച്ച തിരുകി പുതിയ
 കെൾവൻനമ്പി കൂട്ടുകറി കൊണ്ടുവന്നതിനെയും മാർത്തി തിരുവാഭരണ
 ങ്ങളും മാർത്തിച്ച തിരുമുടിപ്പട്ടവും കെട്ടിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം തന്റെ മുത്ത
 പണിക്കർക്കു കൊടുത്ത പൂപ്പുകവ ൧ മെപ്പടി തലയിൽകെട്ട ൧ ആന
 പൊന്നണിഞ്ഞ അഴിയകത്ത നിളുകയും തഴ പത്തും നിന്നുളുന്നതി
 ന്റെ രണ്ടു ഭാഗത്തും അഴിയോട വെച്ചുകെട്ടിയതിന്റെശേഷം മണിത്ത
 റയുടെ താഴത്തെതറമേൽ വലത്ത ഭാഗത്ത നന്ദാവനത്തിൽ നമ്പി അ
 ണിഞ്ഞ പൊൻവിളക്കു ൪-ം വെച്ച അഗ്നികൊണിലെ വിളക്കിന്മേൽ
 പന വിറച്ചുവെപ്പാൻ നെല്ല അഴിയൻ പതിനാലും വടക്കെ വിളക്കു
 കൽ നാരായം നിറച്ചുവെപ്പാൻ അരി അഴിയൻ മന്നെകാലത്തരക്കാ
 ലും അരിച്ചാനിന്ന ഉണക്കലഴിയെൻ കഴുകിയനാഴി അണിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ

wearing a frontlet instead of a crown, and gave presents to Tamme Panikkar, which consisted of a cloth and a head-dress, and to drummers, trumpeteers and horn-blowers. And after worshipping Ganapati, the lord of obstacles, and the Bhagavati the guardian deity of his house, he proceeded in state to the Manittara. First, went the Moplah drummers and fifers, then came the Maramara, playing upon drums of various kinds to the accompaniment of trumpets and horns. They were followed by all the paraphernalia of a royal procession, banners, flags and pennons, fans made of peacock feathers, fans surrounded by peacock feathers, and parasols on staves. Behind them came seven beautiful damsels, arrayed in their best, sprinkling water from silver vessels, followed by the Cheraman Sword, the Bhagavati and the Pallimaradi. Last of all, appeared the king in his royal litter, with long-handled lamps before and behind.

നടുവിൽ നാക്കില റുൽ ഗണപതിക്കു ഗണപതിവെച്ചാൻ അവിടെ അഴിയെൻ നും കള്ളിപഴം ൧൨ വളയംപൂറ്റുവാൻ തെങ്ങായ ൨ വെട്ടുവാൻ തെങ്ങായ ൧ ഇപ്രകാരമെല്ലാം കൊവിലകം പണിമെന്തിപ്പിച്ചു വര കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ടത. ഇതുവണ്ണം ഒരുക്കിയതിന്റെശേഷം അങ്ങിനെയായിൽ തെക്കുഭാഗത്തു അടിച്ചുതളിച്ചു പള്ളിപ്പലകവെച്ചു അതിന്റെ കിഴക്കുഭാഗത്തു രണ്ടുവിളക്കുവെച്ചു അതിന്റെ നടുവിൽ ഭഗവതിയെ എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചതിന്റെ മുമ്പു നാസ്തുന്മാരും കൊമ്പുകൊഴൽക്കാരും മറ്റു ക്കാരും മുഹൂർത്തഭക്ഷിണകൊടുത്തതിന്റെശേഷം പള്ളിപ്പലകമേൽ കിഴക്കു തിരിഞ്ഞിരുന്നതളി ചെറിയ തെവായി നമ്പൂതിരി വിളക്കുകൾ ഗണപതിവെച്ചു ദാനത്തിന്നു ചെറിയതേവരിക്കു പണം ൨൦ മുഹൂർത്ത ഭക്ഷിണക്കു വള്ളത്തുവാട്ടു പട്ടൺ പണം ൧൧൦ ഭസ്മം ഭക്ഷിണയിൽ ചെന്നുചേരലത്തു നമ്പൂതിരിക്കു പണം ൫൦ കൊടുത്തു തൃക്കൈകൊണ്ടു വെളക്കത്തു ഭഗവതിയുടെ മുമ്പിലും തെവാരത്തിൽ വാരിയന്മാർ കൊണ്ടുവന്ന വെച്ചു പൂവ് എടുത്തുമുന്നീട ആരാധിച്ചതിന്റെശേഷം തെങ്ങായ തിരുമുമ്പിൽവെച്ചു വെട്ടുകത്തികൊണ്ടു തെങ്ങായവെട്ടി ഒറവാളിച്ചു പള്ളിക്കത്തു വിളക്കു രണ്ടു മുമ്പിലും പിമ്പിലും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു തൃക്കൈതാങ്ങി ആലവട്ടവും വെണ്ണാമരവും വീശിച്ചു ഭഗവതിയെ എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു പുറയിൽ പുറപ്പെട്ട ചെഴുകുവട്ടങ്ങളും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു കൈത്തോക്കുകളും കതിയ

with his attendants bearing his sword and shield, and with pages fanning him with chowries and holding a white umbrella to keep off the sun.

Descending from his litter at the base of the lower platform, he slowly mounted it and bowed towards Tirunavayi with palm joined to palm. Then he ascended the upper platform, called the Manittara, and shook his sword. Immediately the Nayar guards, who stood on either side of the platform, shook their shields, which were inlaid with gold and silver. A salute

നകളും വെച്ചു വലിയതാമര മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴത്തു കിഴക്കോട്ടു തിരിഞ്ഞുനിന്നുതുളി ഉടവാളവാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തുക്കൈകൂപ്പി ഉടവാളു ഇളക്കി മണിത്താമരമിന്നുതുളികയും ചെയ്തു. വെള്ളിയുംപൊന്നും വെച്ചു പലിശക്കാര നിന്നുതുളുന്നതിന്റെ രണ്ടുഭാഗത്തുംനിന്ന പലിശഇളക്കുകയും വെണം. പള്ളിമാറാടിയിലെ അണിയറയുടെ കിഴക്കെവെരൊടവാരി എഴുന്നെള്ളിക്കൊളും ചെയ്തു. നിന്നുതുളിട്ടു ഒരീട വെടികഴിഞ്ഞ തെക്കെക്കരെ നിന്നുതുളി രണ്ടെടത്തും മുമ്മുനീട വെടികഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഉടവാളു വാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തുക്കൈകൂപ്പി ഒറാവിളിച്ചു പള്ളിത്തണ്ടിൽ എഴുന്നെള്ളി കോവിലകത്തേക്കു എഴുന്നെള്ളി ഒറാവിളിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും കഴിച്ചു കൊവിലകത്തെ പടിഞ്ഞാറെ പള്ളി മിയാത്തിലെ കുളത്തിൽ നീരാട്ടുകുളികഴിഞ്ഞ കോവിലകത്തേക്കു എഴുന്നെള്ളുകയും ചെയ്തു.

മെപ്പടിനാരം മഹാദേവ- തൃക്കാലുകഴകി തെയാരവും വയനാട്ടും കഴിഞ്ഞ രണ്ടുട കരിയെന്നവെച്ചു മൂന്നാമീടവെക്കുമ്പോൾ കിഴക്കെപ്പുറത്തു ആൽത്താമരമിന്നു പുറപ്പാടുകൊട്ടിയടക്കിയതിന്റെ ശേഷം മാളികപ്പുറത്തു പള്ളിയറയിൽനിന്നു തിരുമെനികുപ്പായവും തിരുമുടിത്തൊപ്പിയും മാഞ്ചി ഒറാവിളിച്ചു താഴത്തു എഴുന്നെള്ളി അന്നേരം പന്നരണ്ടു കരിയെന്നയും വെപ്പിച്ചു പുറയിൽ എഴുന്നെള്ളി ആലവട്ടവും വെഞ്ചാമരവും വിധിച്ചു ചൊട്ടുമുണ്ടു കെട്ടിയതിനെയും ഉടവാളും തുക്കൈപലിശയും എടുത്തുതിമെഴുകുവട്ടവും മഴയെയും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു തുക്കൈക്കുടയും എടുത്ത പള്ളിമാറാടിയും എഴുന്നെള്ളിച്ചു വാദ്യഘോഷത്തോടുകൂടി നടവെടിയും വെപ്പിച്ചു നടവരമ്പത്തുകൂടി കിഴക്കോട്ടു എഴുന്നെള്ളി കൂരിയാൽ കൂടി പുഴയിൽ ഇറങ്ങി നീരാട്ടുകുളി പന്നലിൽ മാളികയുടെ ചുവട്ടുനിന്നു ഒറാവിളിച്ചു പള്ളിത്തണ്ടുന്ന താഴത്തു എഴുന്നെള്ളി മാളികമേൽ എഴുന്നെള്ളി വടക്കെ വാതിലു തൊന്നു ചീന പിXXXXട ഇരുന്നതുളിയതിന്റെ ശേഷം താഴത്തു വാദ്യക്കാരുടെ പ്രായോഗം ക

was then fired, which was the signal for the Erpalad on the left bank to appear on his platform. Then three rounds were fired from both banks, after which the Zamorin, bowing once more towards the Lord of Tirunavayi, descended from the Mannittara, and returned to the palace, the ceremonies coming to a close with the damsels above mentioned waving lighted wicks and pots of saffron water before him.

Next day, Ayilyam or the ninth lunar asterism, after the usual ablutions and Vayarattam, the Zamorin, dressed in a coat and a cap, went in procession to the bathing pavilion, entering the river at the Kuriyal or the stunted banyan tree. The afternoon witnessed the grand procession on elephant-back, at-

ഴിഞ്ഞ കൊട്ടുമടക്കിയതിന്റെ ശേഷം പള്ളിയാറെയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും കഴിച്ചു നീരാട്ടകളിക്കു എഴുന്നള്ളുകയും ചെയ്തു. കായക്കഞ്ഞി അമിയിത്തും അമിയത്തും കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരിഞ്ഞ എഴുന്നള്ളിയാകുംപോൾ രണ്ടിട കതിയെന്തവെച്ചു മൂന്നാമിടവെക്കുംപോൾ നന്ദാവനത്തിൽ നമ്പി കലിയലഞ്ഞെറിഞ്ഞ ഉഴിഞ്ഞ ചാത്തിച്ചു തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും ചാത്തിയതിന്റെശേഷം ഒറവിളിച്ചു താഴത്തെ എഴുന്നള്ളിയതിന്റെ ശേഷം ആനക്കഴുത്തിൽ വെള്ളയും കരിമ്പടവും വിരിച്ചതിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ബ്രാഹ്മണരിൽ സേവകന്മാരായിട്ടു ഉള്ളവരിൽ ഒരുത്തരുകൂടി പിന്നാലെ കയറിയെന്നു അന്നത്തെ വാക്യമെന്നു പറയുന്ന കതിയെന്തവെച്ചു മെഴുകുവട്ടങ്ങളും തഴകളും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു ആലവട്ടവും വെണ്മാമരവും വീയിച്ചു ഭടന്മാരും തൃക്കൈപ്പുലിശയും ചൊട്ടമുണ്ടു കെട്ടിയതിനെയും എടുത്ത ഭഗവതിയേയും പള്ളിമാറാടിയേയും എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു മുമ്പിൽത്തളിയും വാദ്യഘോഷത്തോടുകൂടി എഴുന്നള്ളി കൂരിയാൽക്കൽ കയറി പടിഞ്ഞാറെ ഗോപുരത്തിങ്കൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു കതിയെന്തകൾവെച്ചു ആനക്കഴുത്തുന്ന എഴുന്നള്ളി തൃക്കൈതൊങ്ങി ഗോപുരത്തിന്റെ അകായിൽകുന്ന അംപലത്തിന്റെ വടക്കുപുറമെ കിഴക്കുപുറത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി അകായിൽകുന്ന സോപാനത്തുകൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു തെമ്പരെ തൃക്കണ് പാഞ്ചരീർത്ഥവും പ്രസാദവും വാങ്ങി പ്രദക്ഷിണമായി എഴുന്നള്ളി ഭഗവതിയെക്കണ്ടു കിഴക്കേനടയിൽകൂടി അംപലത്തിന്റെ തെക്കുപുറമെ പടിഞ്ഞാറെ ഗോപുരത്തുകൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു കതിയെന്തകൾവെച്ചു ആനക്കഴുത്തിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളിയിരുന്നതളി എലയമൃതക്കാരൻകൂ

tracting immense crowds from far and near, who could hardly be kept out of the palisaded route by the guards, from the river to the temple and thence back again to the palace. The elephant which carried the Zamorin was so richly caparisoned that it looked like a mountain of gold. Encircling its body was a huge chain of solid gold consisting of one hundred and fourteen links and a clasp, making in all one hundred and fifteen, which, by the way, was stolen by an east coast Brahmin professor of *Chora Sastra* or the art of stealing in the course of a procession during a Mamakam as a demonstration of his skill and the scientific principles underlying the art.

ടെ പിന്നാലെകയറി ഇരുന്ന പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു വരുംപത്തുകൂടി വാദ്യഘോഷത്തോടുകൂടി വാകയൂർ ആനപ്പന്തലിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു കതിയെന്നകൾവെച്ചു ആനക്കുഴത്തിൽനിന്ന താഴത്തെ എഴുന്നള്ളി ആനക്കൊടുപ്പാൻ തേങ്ങായിപഴം തിരുമുടിത്താളിപ്പന്തളിയിൽകൊണ്ടുവന്നവെച്ചതിനെക്കൊടുത്ത മാളികമേൽ പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളിയാൽ വെണ്ടിയമാർ കരുതിയും തിരിച്ചുമിടക്കെയും വേണം.

ഇവർക്കും പുയ്യമുതൽ ഉത്രട്ടാതികൂടി നാളു മുൻദിവസം കഴിക്കയും ചെയ്യും. കടത്തായെറ താനും- അയറാഴ്ച ഇരിപതാംദിവസം ഇരവതിനാൾ മുമ്പിലത്തെപ്പോലെതന്നെ എതിരെ നീരാട്ടുകുളിപ്പന്തലിലേക്കു എഴുന്നള്ളി നീരാട്ടുകുളികഴിഞ്ഞു രണ്ടിട കതിയെന്നവെച്ചു ആനപ്പൊന്നണിഞ്ഞ താഴത്തെ പന്തലിൽ നിർത്തിയാൽ മലിയലത്തെറിഞ്ഞ ഉഴിഞ്ഞമാർത്തി മാർത്തകറിയും തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും മാർത്തിക്കുഴിയുംപൊഴെക്കു അകത്തുളെ പരിഷേധം വയ്ക്കാവുന്നാട്ടു നമ്പടിയും അകംപടിക്കാവുന്ന പാർത്തിന്റെ ശേഷം ഒറവിളിച്ചു താഴത്തെ ഇറങ്ങി ആനക്കുഴത്തിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളുംപോൾ കൈത്തോക്കും കതിയെന്നയുംവെച്ചു ആനമെഴുകുവട്ടവും പിടിച്ചിട്ടു തുക്കൈകടയും പിടിച്ചു ആലവട്ടവും വെണ്മാമരവും വീയിച്ചു ഭഗവതിയെയും പള്ളിമാറാടിയെയും എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു ചൊട്ടമണ്ട കെട്ടിയതിനേയും മടവാഴും തുക്കൈപ്പലിശയും എടുത്തു കൊടുവെച്ചു കറുത്ത പലിശയും മൊനക്കുടത്തിലെയുംകൂടി ചെറിയപററിൽ ഉള്ളവർ എടുത്ത മുമ്പിൽതളിയും പൊന്നും വെള്ളിയും കെട്ടിയ

In this way, for twenty-five days, from Ayilyam, the ninth asterism, in Makaram to Tiruvatira, the sixth asterism, in Kumbham, went on the processions, resembling a Roman triumph in its imposing grandeur, each day surpassing its predecessor in pomp and display. All the while the Zamorin's person was guarded with all the vigilance which the bravest and most faithful of his Nayars were capable of. The turns of this duty on the last seven days of the procession are specially mentioned by the court-chronicler. "On the first day the body-guard consists of the Thirty Thousand and Vayyavinattu Nampati; on the second day of Kadannamanna Elaya Vakayil Vellodi; on the third day of Nediyruppil Mutta Eradi

പലിശക്കാരർ അകംപടിയോടുകൂടി നടവെടിയും വെപ്പിച്ച കൂരിയാൽക്കൽ കയറി പടിഞ്ഞാറെ ഗോപുരത്തുകൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു താഴത്ത എഴുന്നള്ളുംചൊഴെക്കു കൈത്തൊക്കും കതിയെനകളുംവെപ്പിച്ചു തേവരെ തൃക്കണ്ഡപാർ പടിഞ്ഞാറെ ഗോപുരത്തുകൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു കൈത്തൊക്കും കതിയെനകളുംവെച്ചു ആനക്കഴത്തിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു നടവരംപത്തു വാളുശോഭിക്കത്തോടുകൂടി വാകെമ്പൂർ ആനപ്പന്തലിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു കതിയെനയും കൈത്തൊക്കും വെച്ചു താഴത്ത എഴുന്നള്ളി മാളികമേൽ പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിളിച്ചു കൊട്ടുമടക്കി വെണിയന്മാര കരുതിയും തിരിയും ഉഴികവേണം.

ഒന്നാംദിവസം മൂപ്പതിനായിരവും വജ്രാവിനാട്ടു നംപടിയുംകൂടി അകംപടി. രണ്ടാംദിവസം കടന്നമണ്ണ എളിയവകയിൽ വള്ളൊടിയുടെ അകംപടി. മൂന്നാംദിവസം നെടിയിരിപ്പിൽ മുത്തേറാടി തിരുമൽപ്പാട്ടിലെ അകംപടി. നാലാംദിവസം എടത്തറനാട്ടമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമൽപ്പാട്ടിലെ അകംപടി. അഞ്ചാംദിവസം ഏറനാട മൂന്നാംകൂറ നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമൽപ്പാട്ടിലെ അകംപടി. ആറാംദിവസം ഏറനാട എളുംകൂറ നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമൽപ്പാട്ടിലെ അകംപടി. ഏഴാംദിവസം അകംപടി ജനവും കോഴിക്കാട തലച്ചെന്ന നായരും ഏറനാട്ടു മേന്മാനുംകൂടി വാമ്പിന്റെ രണ്ടുപുറവും അകംപടി.

ഈവണ്ണം ആറുപൊന്നണിഞ്ഞ എഴുതിവസത്തെ അകംപടി കഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെശേഷം ഏട്ടാംദിവസം പുണർതത്തുനാര വാകയൂരുന്നിന തന്നെ നീരാട്ടുകളിയും അമിത്തുംകഴിഞ്ഞ തിരിഞ്ഞ പന്തിരടിയാകും പോര ചമയപ്പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ചെന്തിരിക്കൽ പൂവുകൊണ്ടു കെട്ടിപ്പിഴിഞ്ഞ ഒലിയല ഞെറിഞ്ഞ ഉഴിഞ്ഞ ചാർന്നി ചാത്തുക

Tirumulpad; on the fourth day of Edattaranad Nampiyatiri Tirumulpad; on the fifth day of Ernad Munnamkur Nampiyatiri Tirumulpad; on the sixth day of Ernad Elamkur Nampiyatiri Tirumulpad; and on the seventh day of the Ten Thousand, Calicut Talacchennavar and Ernad Menon.

On the last four days there was no procession either to the river or to the temple. On Punartam and the two succeeding days the Zamorin and the Eralpad showed themselves on their respective platforms and the crowds on either bank were regaled with fireworks and mock-fights between ships, arranged by the Sahabantra Koya. On Puyam and Ayilyam the Kuriyal

റിയും ചാത്തി മുത്തുക്കുലയും തിരുവാങ്ങണങ്ങും ചാത്തി തിരുമുടിപ്പട്ടവും കെട്ടിയതിന്റെശേഷം തഴ ൧൦-൦ അഴിയുടെ രണ്ടുഭാഗത്തുവെച്ചു കെട്ടി ആനപ്പൊന്നണിഞ്ഞ അഴിയകത്തു നിർത്തിയതിന്റെശേഷം നിലപാടു തറമേൽ മണിത്തറയുടെ പിന്നിൽ തെക്കുഭാഗത്തു അണിഞ്ഞ പൊന്നിൻ വിളക്കു നാലുവെച്ചു പരമ്പരപ്പും ഗണപതിയുടേയും അകത്തഴിയിൽനിന്ന ഉണ്ടാക്കികൊണ്ടുവന്നതിനേയും വെച്ചു മുഹൂർത്തം കേൾക്കുന്നതും കൊടുത്തതിന്റെശേഷം ചമയപ്പള്ളിയറയിൽ തെക്കുഭാഗം അടിച്ചുതെളിച്ചു പള്ളിപ്പലകവെച്ചു കിഴക്കുഭാഗത്തു രണ്ടുനില വിളക്കുവെച്ചതിന്റെ നടുവിൽ ഭഗവതിയെ എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു പള്ളിപ്പലകമേൽ കിഴക്കുതീരിത്തു ഇരുന്നരുളി മുഹൂർത്തം കേൾക്കുന്നതും വള്ളുവങ്ങാട്ടുപട്ടക്കു പണം പതിനൊന്നും മേപ്പടി ആലൂർ കണികൾക്കു പണം നാലും കൊടുത്ത ഭഗവതിയുടെ മുൻപിലും വിളക്കത്തും മുന്നിൽ പൂവുആരാധിച്ചു വന്ദിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഭാനത്തിന്നു ചെറിയ തേവാരത്തിലേക്കു പണം രണ്ടുകൊടുത്തു ചെറുതാഴെത്തു നമ്പൂതിരി ജപിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവന്നു ഭണ്ഡം വാങ്ങി ചാത്തിച്ചു നമ്പൂതിരിക്കു കേൾക്കുന്നതും പണം അഞ്ചും കൊടുത്തു തെങ്ങായിതിരുമുറിയിൽവെച്ചു തൃക്കൈകൊണ്ടു വെട്ടുകത്തി എടുത്തു തെങ്ങായവെട്ടി ഭാഗവിട്ടിച്ചു കതിയെന്നകളും കൈത്തൊക്കുവെച്ചു കത്തുവിളക്കുകൾ നാലും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു മെഴുകുവട്ടങ്ങളും തൃക്കൈകളുടെയും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു ആലവട്ടവും വെണ്ണാമരവും വീയിച്ചു ചൊടുമുണ്ടു കെട്ടിയതിനേയും ഭടന്മാരും തൃക്കൈപ്പലിശയും എടുത്ത ഭഗവതിയെ എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു തൃക്കൈത്താങ്ങി പൊറായിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി വാദ്യഘോഷത്തോടുകൂടി നിലത്തറയുടെ താഴെത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി ഭടന്മാളുവാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി വാളു എളക്കി മണിത്തറമേൽനിന്നു അരുളികളെയും ചെയ്തു. ഭടന്മാളു ചെറിയവരറിൽ ഉള്ളവരുടെവക്കൽ കൊടുത്ത തൃക്കൈത്താങ്ങി നിന്നരുളികളും

was decorated, and under it the Rajah of Bettet and the Munalpad respectively stood in state, facing the Zamorin on the Vakayur platform.

On Makam, the last day of the festival, in the morning, after ablutions and Vayarattam, the Zamorin came in procession to the Manittara. As soon as he ascended it a salute was fired. Thereupon the Eralpad mounted his platform and two volleys were fired from both banks. Then the Eralpad descended from his platform, and, after prostrating at its base

ചെയ്തു. അതിനുശേഷം തെക്കേക്കര നിന്നുള്ള കൈത്തോക്കു വെക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ആറുമെറിയ കപ്പലു വലിയ കപ്പലോടുകൂടി കലഹിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. രണ്ടു കൂപം നിർത്തി കൂപവെടിയും വേണം. അതുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഒടവാട്ട് വാങ്ങി തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി തൃക്കാൽ നടെ കോവിലകത്തു മാളികമേൽ പള്ളിത്തറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിട്ടിട്ടു കൊട്ടു മടക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. പള്ളിമാറാടി ചമയപ്പള്ളി അറയുടെ ഉമ്മറത്തു തെക്കേച്ചോരോടെ മാരിതന്നെ ഇരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. തഴകളെ കെട്ടിയതും അണിഞ്ഞ വെളുത്തവെച്ചതും പാറിറപ്പും ഗണപതിക്കുവെച്ചതും അവിടുന്ന് എടുക്കുകയും അരുതു.

പുയത്തുന്നാരം രാവിലെ തൃക്കാലുകഴുകി തേവാരവും വയെറയാട്ടും കഴിഞ്ഞ അണിത്തറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി പൂപ്പിഴിഞ്ഞ ഒലിയല ഞെറിഞ്ഞ ഉഴിഞ്ഞ ചാത്തി തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും ചാത്തി തിരുമുടിപ്പട്ടവും കെട്ടി ഒറവിട്ടിട്ടു കത്തുവിളക്കും മെഴുകുവട്ടങ്ങളും പിടിപ്പിച്ചു ആലവട്ടവും വെണ്മാമരവും വീതിച്ചു ഭഗവതിയെ എഴുന്നള്ളിച്ചു വാളുശേഷം തോട്ടുകൂടി മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒടവാട്ട് വാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി വാട്ട് എളുക്കി മണിത്തറമേൽ നിന്നുള്ളുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഒരീട് വെടികഴിഞ്ഞ തെക്കേക്കര നിന്നുള്ള രണ്ടീട് വെടികഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഒടവാട്ടു വാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി ഒറവിട്ടിട്ടു പള്ളിത്തണിൾ എഴുന്നള്ളി കോവിലകത്തു മാളികമേൽ പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒറവിട്ടിട്ടു തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും കഴിച്ചുവെച്ചു നിരാട്ടകളിലും കായകുഞ്ഞി അമീത്തും കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരിഞ്ഞ പതിരാടിയാകുംപോൾ ചമയപ്പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി പൂപ്പിഴിഞ്ഞ ഒലിയല ഞെറിഞ്ഞ ഉഴിഞ്ഞചാത്തി മുത്തുക്കലയും തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും ചാത്തി ഒറവിട്ടിട്ടു മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒടവാട്ട് വാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി വാട്ട് എളുക്കിനിന്നുള്ളുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഒരീട് വെടികഴിഞ്ഞ തെക്കേക്കര നിന്നുള്ള രണ്ടീട് വെടികഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ

got into his litter, accompanied by Tirumanasseri. Crossing the water-course, they emerged from the river and joined the road at the Kuriyal. Here they dismounted from the palanquin, and advanced on foot, the Erалpad prostrating four times towards the Zamorin, once at the eastern end of the palisaded lane, twice in the middle, and once at the foot of the terraces. And after due permission was

ശേഷം കൂരിയാൽകൽ ആൽത്തറ വെട്ടും ഉടയ കോവിൽ ആളുകളെ അയച്ചു നന്നാക്കിപ്പി അതിന്മേൽ വെട്ടും ഉടയ മുത്തുകോവില മടവാളും ആയി പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു തിരിഞ്ഞ നിന്നരുളുകയും ചെയ്തു. കൈത്തൊക്ക അങ്ങനും ഇങ്ങനും വെച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം കപ്പൽവെടി കമ്പവെടി കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ മടവാളവാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി ഒററവിളിച്ചു തൃക്കാൽനടെ കോവിലകത്തു മാളികമേൽ പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒററവിളിച്ചു കൊട്ടു മടക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു.

ആയില്യത്തുനാൾ രാവിലെ തൃക്കാൽ കഴുകി ചമയപ്പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ചമയം ചാർത്തി ഒററവിളിച്ചു മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി മടവാളു വാങ്ങി തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി വാളു എളക്കി നിന്നരുളിവെടികഴിഞ്ഞ തെക്കെക്കര നിന്നരുളി രണ്ടെടത്തും വെടികഴിഞ്ഞ മടവാളവാങ്ങി തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി ഒററവിളിച്ചു പള്ളിത്തണ്ടിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി കൊവിലകത്തു മാളികമേൽ പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒററവിളിച്ചു കൊട്ടുമടക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ശേഷം നീരാട്ടുകുളിയും കായകുഞ്ഞി അമീയിത്തും അമീയിത്തും കഴിഞ്ഞ പതിററടിയാകുമ്പോൾ അണിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ചമയം ചാർത്തി ഒററവിളിച്ചു മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി നിന്നരുളി മരീട വെടികഴിഞ്ഞ തെക്കെക്കര നിന്നരുളി വെടികഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം കൂരിയാല്ലൂൽ ആൽത്തറ എന്നൊട്ടു മൂന്നാംകൂറ് നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമുൽപ്പാട്ടന്ന തിരുവള്ളത്തിലെറി നന്നാക്കി അഴിയും കുറിയും ഇടിച്ചു അതിൽ അണിഞ്ഞ വിളക്കും വെച്ചു മൂന്നാംകൂറ് നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമുല്പാട്ടന്ന പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു തിരിഞ്ഞ നിന്നരുളി അങ്ങനും ഇങ്ങനും വെടികഴിഞ്ഞ കപ്പൽവെടി കമ്പവെടി കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ മടവാളവാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി ഒററവിളിച്ചു തൃക്കാൽനടെ കൊവിലകത്തു മാളികമേൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ഒററവിളിച്ചു കൊട്ടുമടക്കി വെണ്ടിയമ്മാര കയ്യിലും തിരിയും ഉഴികെയും ചെയ്തു.

മകത്തുനാൾ രാവിലെ തൃക്കാൽ കഴുകി തെയാരവും വയെറാട്ടും കഴിഞ്ഞ അണിത്തറയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി ചമയം ചാർത്തി ഒററവിളിച്ചു മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി മടവാളവാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈ

sought and obtained they took their place on the Zamorin's right hand, the Koya standing on the left.

After this Mangat Acehan and Tinayancheri Elayutu, preceded by the Murasappantara kuttam or the palace drummers went to Acchantara, where the Ten Thousand were waiting, assembled in the Nilalkuttam, and brought them with music and pomp to Vakayur to make their obeisance.

Then salutes were fired, and the Zamorin, after bowing to the Lord of Tirunavayi, as usual with palm joined to palm, proceeded to his palace at Triprangot, where the ceremonies came to a close with the Ventiammar waving lighted wicks and pots of saffron-water before him.

കൂപ്പി വാളിളക്കി മണിത്തറയുമെൽ നിന്നരുളുകയും ചെയ്തു. മേടവെടികഴിഞ്ഞ തെക്കേക്കരനിന്നരുളി രണ്ടിടവെടി കഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം എന്നാട്ടു എളംകൂറ നംപിയാതിരിതിരുമല്ലാട്ടുന്ന നിലപാടനുയുടെ താഴെ എഴുന്നള്ളി നമസ്സരിച്ച അവിടന്നു എഴുന്നീറ്റ പള്ളിത്തണ്ടിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി തിരുമനുശ്ശേരി നമ്പൂതിരിയും തണ്ടിൽ കരറി നീച്ചാലകടന്ന കൂരിയാല്ലൽ കയറി നടവരമ്പിന്റെ കിഴക്കെ അറ്റത്തുനിന്ന പള്ളിത്തണ്ടു നാഴെ ഇറങ്ങി പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു നമസ്സരിച്ച അവിടന്നു എഴുന്നീറ്റ പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു എഴുന്നള്ളി നടവരമ്പിന്റെ ഇടയിൽ രണ്ടടത്തു നമസ്സരിച്ച മണിത്തറയുടെ താഴെ പിടിച്ചു കളിത്തറമേൽ കയറി നമസ്സരിച്ചു എഴുന്നീറ്റ തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി നിന്നരുളിയാൽ മെല്ലെടകരരിക്കൊള്ളുവാൻ അരുളിച്ചെയ്താറെ കരറി നിന്നരുളുന്നതിന്റെ വലത്തു ഭാഗത്തു എളംകൂറ നംപിയാതിരിതിരുമല്ലാട്ടുന്ന നിന്നരുളുകയും ചെയ്തു. അതിന്റെ പിന്നിൽ തിരുമനുശ്ശേരി നമ്പൂതിരികൂടെ നില്ക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം അകമ്പടിജനം അച്ചുത്തറക്കെ കൂട്ടം ഇരുന്ന മങ്ങാട്ടു അച്ചനും തിനെയഞ്ചേരി എളയയ്യും മരശപ്പുണ്ടാരുള്ളവും കൂടി കൂട്ടത്തിൽകൽമെന്ന കൊട്ടിച്ചു കൂട്ടം എഴുന്നീറ്റ വാക്കെയുക്ക് വന്നുകൂടി തൊഴുകയും ചെയ്തു. അതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഒറ്റവിളിച്ചു കരിയനകളും കൈത്തോക്കുകളും വെച്ചു ഒടവാളു വാങ്ങി കിഴക്കോട്ടു തൃക്കൈകൂപ്പി പള്ളിത്തണ്ടിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി അഴിവാതിൽകടന്ന പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു പുറപ്പെട്ട തൃപ്പുറങ്ങോട്ടു എഴുന്നള്ളി അയ്യംകൊളത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളിക്കൊവിലകം ആകെയും ചെയ്തു. ഒറ്റവിളിച്ചു കൊട്ടുമടക്കി വെണ്ടിയന്മാർ കരുതിയും തിരിയും ഉഴിഞ്ഞ തിരുവാഭരണങ്ങളും കഴിച്ചു നീരാട്ടുകുളിക്കു എഴുന്നള്ളി.

During the Mamakam festival and even during the Taipuyam festival ¹ the followers of the Vellatri used to come with the avowed object of killing the Zamorin. Some times they appeared at night ², sometimes when the Zamorin took his stand on the platform, ³ and sometimes after the close of the ceremonies, when the guards had dispersed ⁴.

Logan, accepting the explanation of Hamilton and Sir James Fazer, remarks:— "Those who acknowledged the Zamorin's suzerainty sent flags in token of fealty, and the places where these flags used to be hoisted at festival time are still pointed out. The Valluvanad Raja, who is still represented in the management of the Tirunavayi temple by one out of the four Brahman *Karalars*, instead of sending a flag, used to send men called *Chavers* (men who have elected to die), whose office it was to endeavour to cut their way through the Zamorin's guards to his throne in a manner to be presently described. If they had succeeded in killing him, as on the occasion cited by Hamilton, whose statement, except as to the date, is moreover corroborated by tradition, it is uncertain what would have happened; but probably if a capable Raja had been ruling in Valluvanad at such a time, popular opinion would have endowed him with the suzerainty" ⁵.

The Calicut Granthavari gives a different interpretation. "The subjects of the Vellatri," runs the chronicle, "unable to bear the oppression of their master, gave up all earthly plea-

¹ A. D. 1656, 1670 and 1730 (*Calicut Granthavari*).

² A. D. 1730 (*Ibid.*)

³ Katancheri, *The Mamakam Kilippattu*, pp. 93 and 121, Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Chap. XXV. Wrede, *The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, pp. 2-4,

Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 168-169.

⁴ *Calicut Granthavari*.

⁵ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 164. Tradition corroborates Hamilton's date but not his explanation.

asures and comforts, and prayed to the Bhagavati, residing on the sacred hill called Tirumanamkundu for a means (of deliverance in this life and) of salvation in the next. She told them that they would obtain salvation if they sacrificed their lives in battle near the temple of Vishnu on the river bank at Tirunavayi in the month of *Magha* when Jupiter was in *Leo*. Hence, from the land, sacred to the aforesaid Bhagavati, persons, whose Karma had been worked out, used to come, possessed with the divine spirit, and die fighting with our soldiers during the *Mamakam festival*" ¹.

They were really the Chavers of the Vellatri. They sought, according to the immemorial custom of the country, to avenge the death of their princes in the Tirunavayi war. Ever since this down to the occupation of Malabar by Haidar Ali, there was nothing but war to the knife between the Zamorin and the Vellatri. Between Calicut and Cochin, which was also caught

¹ വള്ളവനാട്ടുകരനിന്ന മേപ്പടി ശീമക്കു അധിപതിയായിരിക്കുന്ന വള്ളവക്കോനാതിരി എന്ന രാജാവു മേൽപ്പട്ടതിയ ശീമയിലെ പ്രജകളെ യജ്ഞശാലയെ ഉപദ്രവിക്കുസംഗതിയായിട്ട് അവിടെയുള്ള പ്രജകളെല്ലാവരുംകൂടി അയിഹികസുഖങ്ങളെ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു പാശതീവരത്തു വാനായി മേൽപറഞ്ഞ ശീമയിൽ തിരുമാനംകുന്ന എന്ന എത്രയും പുണ്യസ്ഥലമായിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രത്തിങ്കൽ അധിവാസമായ ശ്രീമാദാദേവകാളി എന്ന ഭഗവതിയെ സേവിച്ചു പാശതീയെ അപേക്ഷിച്ചപ്പോൾ ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മാംവമാസത്തിൽ തിരുനാവായെ എന്ന പുണ്യസ്ഥലത്തിങ്കൽ നദീതീരത്തെ വിഷ്ണുക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്റെ സന്നിധാനത്തിങ്കൽ ചെന്ന യുദ്ധംചെയ്ത ദോഷത്യാഗം ചെയ്താൽ പാശതീ വരമെന്ന മേൽപറഞ്ഞ ഭഗവതിയുടെ നിയോഗപ്രകാരം അതാത ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മേൽപറഞ്ഞ ശീമയിൽ കർമാവസാനം വന്നിട്ടുള്ള പ്രജകൾ ഭഗവതിയുടെ ആവേശത്തോടുകൂടി മാടിവന്ന തിരുനാവായെ മാമാങ്കവേലയും നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു ഇരിക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ ഐസന്യത്തോട യുദ്ധംചെയ്തു മരിച്ച പാശതീവരത്തുമാർ മുണ്ടു, മേൽപറഞ്ഞ മാംവമാസം ഹവ ടിവസവും മാമാങ്കവേലയും നടത്തി ഇതുപറഞ്ഞ ടിവസം കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ മേൽ പ്പട്ടതിയ മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിനെയും പുണ്യനദിയെയും മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരെയും നമസ്കരിച്ച അവരുടെ അനുഗ്രഹത്തോടുകൂടി സകലജനങ്ങളും മനസ്സു നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ മഹാരാജാവ കൊഴിക്കൊട്ടു സംസ്ഥാനത്തെക്കുറഞ്ഞു വൊക്കമാറാകുന്നത. (*The Calicut Granthavari*)

up in the Kur-matsaram, there had been occasional truces. But the fall of the Vellatri princes transformed the Arangot-Nediyiruppu hostility into a bitter blood-feud,¹ which nothing but the fall of an equal number of Nediyiruppu princes could stop.

¹ "Should a Raj or chieftain of any tribe in Malabar," says Zeinuddin, "be slain in battle, his troops continue a war of extermination against those who were, on the occasion of his death, attacking them and their city until they have succeeded in annihilating the one and laid desolate the other". (Zeinuddin, *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 61. See also page 54 *supra*.)

A CENTURY OF WARS AND CONQUESTS

Tirunavayi was not the only conquest of the Zamorin from the Vellatri, though it was the most cherished of all his acquisitions. The vendetta set in motion by the death of the Vellatri prince made peace between Nediyruppu and Arangot impossible. In the course of these hostilities, which ended only when friend and foe alike were swept away by the avalanche of the Mysorean invasions, the Zamorin extended his authority as far as Nilambur, noted for its gold deposits, on one side and Venkattakotta ¹ on the other.

The operations in the south and east were neither difficult nor prolonged. Malappuram, commanding the highroad to the Vellatri's capital, was entrusted on account of its strategic importance to a member of the Varakkal Paranampi's family, with the title of Malappuram Paranampi. Nilambur was placed under Taccharakkavu Eralan, Vallappanattukara under Tarakkal Eroma Menon, the commander of Chunangad, and Manjeri under the Karanavappad. ²

In the west the war was bitter, for it was marked by treachery and crime. Kariyur Mussad, the Brahmin minister and general of the Vellatri, inveigled Tinayancheri Elayutu, the Brahmin minister and general of the Zamorin, into his house under the pretext of negotiating a marriage alliance between their families, and murdered him. Deeply incensed at this dastardly conduct, the Zamorin at once proceeded against the murderer. The Vellatri thereupon came to his minister's assistance. The defenders fought with desperate valour. For twelve years the campaign dragged on its bloody length. At last the Mussad was captured and put to death at Patapparam.

¹ Also called Venkotta or the white fort, the *Svetadurga* of *Bhringa samdesa*.

² “വെള്ളുനാട്ടുകരെ പ്രവൃത്തിക്കാത്തൊണ്ടു തറക്കൽ ഇട്ടുന്നിരും”

pa, and his lands known as the Ten Kalams and Pantalur were occupied ¹.

Nedunganad, famous in local tradition as the home of Melattur Agnihotri, Narayanan the Mad, Karayku mata, and Pakkanar, the Paraya ², was annexed without striking even a single blow. Its ruler³ called Nedungerippad, was like the Zamorin a Samanta by caste. By his oppression he alienated all his subjects. He molested the Brahmins, plundering their temples and impeding the free exercise of their religion. His suspicion and arrogance led his nobles and generals to intrigue with the Svarupams of Arangot and Tarur, who were only too eager to grasp at any opportunity that offered itself for their aggrandisement. In this extremity the Nedungerippad appealed to the Zamorin for help, promising to cede a part of his possessions and defray the cost of the expedition that might be sent to his assistance.

മവാരി ചുനക്കാട്ടു തലച്ചെണ്ണാരായി വാളും പുടവയും കൊടുത്തു
 ൧൦൦൦ നായർ രജമാനനായിട്ടു. പിന്നെ ചുള്ളിയിൽ ശങ്കരനമ്പിയെ
 ഒന്നാമതിരുവുള്ളിക്കാഴ്ചക്കാരൻ വള്ളവക്കൊന്നാതിരിപ്പാട്ടിലെ മലപ്പുറം
 മക്കാരം പിടിച്ചടക്കി. അതുകൊണ്ടു ആ സ്ഥാനത്തെക്കു അവനാശ്ശൊണ്ടു
 കണ്ണും മകവും തിരിവും കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നു; അതുകൊണ്ടു “മലപ്പുറത്തു
 പാരനമ്പി” എന്ന പദവാൻ കാരണം.” (*The Keralolpatti*, p. 94).

¹ According to tradition, Kolkunnathu Sivankal advised the Zamorin to propitiate his enemy's guardian deity by Pattu or song in her honour, and with her help thus obtained he was able to overcome his enemies.

In this campaign the Munalpad, who happened to be the Kilakke Kovilakam Valia Tampuran, took the leading part. So the Zamorin granted him one half of the conquered country, which consisted of Venkotta or Kottakkal, the present residence of the Kilakke Kovilakam, Kavutikalam, Indiannur, and Munnur. The other six Kalams were Chengottur, Kolkalam, Villur, Talakkavu, Puttur and Kukiyaatu.

To appease the Mussad's ghost a lamp is always kept burning at the palace at Kottakkal.

²The Brahmin, Vararuchi, happened to marry by an acci-

The Zamorin sent a large army under the Eralpad. When he reached the western frontier of Nedunganad he found its ruler had made no preparations for the coming campaign. The Nedungeri in fact had played a trick. He had no intention of doing anything. His idea was simply to commit the Zamorin to a war; for, he thought, that when once the Kunjalakkonatiri had embarked on a project he would not desist but would carry on for sheer prestige. He did not even come to meet the Eralpad; on the other hand, he hid himself in the interior of his dominions. This did not however matter in the least. For the disaffected feudatories and commanders of Nedunganad had stolen a march over their slow-witted master, and sent envoys to the Calicut prince with offers of submission and welcome.

dent a woman born of Paraya parents and had twelve children by her. These twelve were known as "Paracchi petta pantir kulam (പറച്ചി പെറപ്പന്തിരു കുലം)" or the twelve children born of the Paraya woman. As the children were left to their fate wherever they were born, they came to be discovered and brought up by people of different castes. The twelve children were Melattur Agnihotri, a Brahmin; a washerman whose name is not known; Uliyanur Tacchan, a carpenter; Vallon a Pulaya; the Nayar of Vatutala; Karayku mata, a Kshatriya lady; Uppukottan, a Muhammadan; Pananar, an umbrella-maker; Narayanan the Mad, an Elayutu; Akavur Chattan, a Vaisya; Pakkanar, a Paraya; and Vayyilla kunnilappan, the deity who had no mouth.

“മേളത്തുരഗിഹോത്രി, രജക, നളിയന്തർ തച്ചനും, പിന്നെ വള്ളൊൻ,
വായില്ലാകുന്നിലപ്പൻ, വടതലമുളയും നായർ, കാരയ്ക്കുമാതാ,
ചെമ്മൈകളുപ്പുകൊറൻ, പെരിയതിരുവരങ്കത്തെയും പാണനായും,
നേരെ നാരായണഭാഗന്ത, മുടനകവൂർ മാത്തനും, ചാക്കനായും.

(Sankunni, *The Ayitihyamala*, Vol. I.)

The result was the warlike expedition was transformed into a triumphal procession ¹.

At Yegneswaram, so called from the ninety-nine sacrifices performed there by Melattur Agnihotri, he was received by Kilakkunnattu Nampati ², one of the Naduvalis of the Nedungeri. By a written charter granted to Vemancheri Namputi-rippad, a descendant of Agnihotri, the Eralpad guaranteed the protection of cows, temples and Brahmins throughout Nedunganad. At Velliyankallu the Nedunganad Patanayar ³ or the commander of Nedunganad made his submission, while the Eralpad's army was reinforced by Vayyavinattu Nampati ⁴ and Maniyur Nampati ⁵ sent by Tirumanasseri Nampiyatiri. At Kodikunni the Nedungeri, who saw that his game was up, surrendered with many apologies for his unseemly conduct. At Vallur the Brahmins led by the White Bhattatiri ⁶ welcomed him. And proceeding by way of Rayaramangalam, reputed to be the birth-place of Narayanan the Mad, and of Erattingal, the home of Pakkanar, the Paraya, he arrived at Tiruvegapura. This place and the Koyma rights over its temple belonged to the Vellatri, who had wrested them from the Vannarmala Nayar⁷. The Eralpad took both the place and the temple under his protection, redressed the grievances of the Namputiris settled there, and confirmed the Ten Illakkars, five of whom were fugitives from Panniyur, as the managers of the temple. At Karakkad he was met by the Karakkattu Mutta-

¹ The chief events of the occupation of Nedunganad are still commemorated in the Eralpad's journey to Karimpula after his Ariyittuvalcha. See page 29 *supra*. A full account of this royal progress is given in Malayalam in "*The Eralpad's Kottichelunellattu*" by Vidwan Ettan Tampuran Zamorin, whose *Elunnellattu* as Eralpad is vividly described in it with many interesting details.

² കിഴക്കനാട്ടു നമ്പടി. ³ നെടുങ്ങനാട് പടനായർ. ⁴ വയ്യാവിനാട്ടു നമ്പടി. ⁵ മണിയൂർ നമ്പടി. ⁶ വെളുത്ത പട്ടെരി. ⁷ വണ്ണാർമലനായർ.

van ¹, a descendant of Karayku mata and ancestor of the present Kavalappara Nayar. The Tarakkal Variar, Eroma Menon, the commander of Chunangad, joined him at Mulayankavu. The Vakkata Nayar ² submitted to him at Vengotri, while the Vittikkattu Nayar ³, who was also one of the commanders of the Palghat Rajahs with the title of Taruvayur Patanayar or Kannampira Nayar ⁴, surrendered to him at Nellore. The Mam-patakkattu Patanayar, known also as Kannanur Patanayar and Trikkatiri Nayar ⁵, made his submission at Kakkattodu. Only at two places was there any resistance. At Kolakkad the Kollattu Panikkar ⁶, a Naduvali under the Vellatri, tried to oppose the Eralpad's advance. But he was overcome and compelled to yield. Near Karimpula, the Cherumas and the Panans of Kotta, who had been long ago settled there by the Vellatri, did not submit at once. Admiring the loyalty of these poor folk to their master and unwilling to pollute his arms with the blood of such low-caste people, the Eralpad refrained from employing force against them; instead he preferred to win their affection by gifts and presents.

The Zamorin's attitude towards the vanquished was generally marked by moderation. The whole of the conquered land was not as a rule annexed and directly ruled by his officers. Its ancient chief was allowed to hold a part of it as his vassal. "With regard to the wars of this chieftain," says Zeinuddin, ¹ "whenever he commenced hostilities against any of the inconsiderable chiefs of Malabar, provoked to do so by any aggression on their part, after subduing them, it was his practice to return some portion of their possessions, provided he had not been irritated beyond measure; and this restitution, although delayed for a long time, he always made in the end, evincing a

¹ കാക്കടാട്ടു മുത്തവൻ. ² വാക്കടനായർ. ³ വിട്ടിക്കാട്ടു നായർ. ⁴ തരുവൂർപടനായർ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കണ്ണമ്പിരനായർ. ⁵ മാമ്പറക്കാട്ടു നായർ, തൃക്കടീരിനായർ. ⁶ കൊല്ലത്തു പണിക്കർ.

⁷ Zeinuddin, *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 59.

politic regard for the prejudices and feelings of the people of Malabar." But by his conduct the Nedungeri had forfeited all claims for a humane and considerate treatment. He was not only guilty of bad faith but, if popular tradition can be believed, he had also insulted the Eralpad ¹. The desertion of his followers, further, was a convincing proof of his incompetence. All things considered, the Zamorin deemed it impolitic to retain him as ruler of Nedunganad. Nedunganad was annexed, the Eralpad was appointed its governor with his head-quarters at Karimpula, and the Nedungeri was given a subsistence allowance, with certain Koyma rights over the temple of Cherplasseri.

The Rajahs of Talappilli also had to submit to the Zamorin. According to tradition, they were originally Namputiris. The head of the family was known as Kakkad Karnavappad. For shedding blood they lost caste and became Nampatis. Different stories are told about this but all agree in that the crime of man-slaughter was committed in the public interest. According to one version, the victim was Bhuta Raya Pandi Perumal, who hated and oppressed the Brahmins ²; according to another, it was Cholan Perumal who drove Cheraman Perumal out of the kingdom and compelled him to take refuge in the woods ³; according to a third, it was a Perumal who had been installed as a rival to Cheraman ⁴; while, according to a fourth, the murdered prince was no other than Krishna Rayar, who had originally sent Cheraman and who invaded and occupied Kerala when Cheraman was made king for life ⁵.

¹ Ramanunni Nayar, *A Short History of Kerala*, p. 56.

² *The Keralolpatti*, pp. 22-23.

³ Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore Etc.* Vol. II, pp. 51 and 106.

⁴ Visscher, *Letters Malabar*, Letter XIII.

⁵ Day, *The Land of the Perumals*, p. 43.

In course of time this family became divided into Kakkad Ayinikkur, Cheralayam, Manakkulam and Punnattur. This gave rise to quarrels, Punnattur seeking the help of the Zamorin. The Calicut Nayars invaded the country, and the Talappilli Rajahs had to pay the price of disunion by submission. From this time onward Punnattur became like Bettet the right-hand man of the Zamorin. He took part in his Ariyittuvalcha and enjoyed the unique privilege of dining with the Zamorin on that day ¹.

In this period the Zamorin conquered a large part of the present Cochin State and reduced the Cochin Rajah to the rank of a feudatory chief. According to the Keralolpatti, when Cheraman Perumal divided his empire, he gave to the Surya Kshatriya fifty-two Katams of territories, many fighting men, eighteen barons, and forty-two ministers, and conferred on him the title of Perimpatappu. ²

We know very little about the origin of this family. The ancestors of the Cochin Rajah do not find a place in the grant either of Vira Raghava Chakravarti or of Bhaskara Ravi Varman. They are regarded as one of the five Kshatriya dynasties of Kerala, ³ and therefore higher in the social scale than the Samantas. Perimpatappu is a small village in the Ponnani Taluk of British Malabar and formed part of the ancient Vannerinad, which derived its name from the fact that it was the land (*naḍ*), where the Kshatriyas first came (*vannu*) and settled (*kayari*) in Kerala. Perimpatappu itself belonged to a Namputiri. He had *Sambandham* with a Kshatriya lady, and as

¹ See page 20 *supra*.

² “ചിന്നെ സുയ്യക്തരിയന്ന ഭവ. കാതം നാടും വളരെ പുരുഷാരവും മറ്റു മാടമ്പികളും ഭവ. കായ്ക്കാതെയും കല്പിച്ചുകൊടുത്തു ചെരിമ്പടപ്പു എന്നു പേരുവിളിച്ചു” (The Keralolpatti, p. 71)

³ For the others see page 8 *supra* note 1.

he had no heirs he conferred his property and possessions on her and her descendants. Thus came into existence the Perim-patappu Svarupam. While the Zamorin was engaged in extending his authority over Polanad and adjacent places, the members of this Svarupam carved out for themselves an empire bounded in the east by the Anamalais, in the south by Porakkad, in the west by the sea, and in the north by Puk-kaita.

In course of time this dynasty split up into five branches, the Mutta, the Elaya, the Pallurutti, the Madattumkil or Murinjur, and the Chaliyur. "Each branch seems to have had its own family-seat and crown lands for its own support, its own retainers and militia of Nayars, while the right of succession to the musnad was common to all, the oldest male member of all the five branches taken together being the reigning Raja If the reigning chief grew too old or otherwise too feeble to govern the country efficiently in those troublous times, he relinquished the reins of government and led the life of a religious recluse, entrusting the administration either to the rightful heir or to the next oldest member of his own branch of the family. In the latter case, the regent was bound, on the death of the retired chief, not only to make way for the rightful heir but also to retire from the world and become a religious recluse."¹ Such a custom gave rise to perpetual discords among the five branches, and the Zamorin's help was sought against the party that was for the time being in the ascendant. The Zamorin was thus always furnished with a pretext for interference; he could always make it out that he had taken up arms in defence of justice.

¹ C. Achyuta Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, pp. 46-47.

The Zamorin could always count on the willing assistance of the princes who lived in the vicinity of Cochin. The Rajahs of Cranganore commanded the shortest route to Cochin, and, with their kinsmen of Ayirur and Sarkara, controlled a large part of the island of Chetwai. And these were bound by the closest of social ties, that of marriage, to support the Zamorin's family ¹. The Rajahs of Idappalli or Elangallur Svarupam also joined the Zamorin. They were one of the few Brahmin chiefs of Kerala, and their sympathies were always with the protector of cows and Brahmins. They had also a grievance against the Cochin princes. One of the Rajahs had married a Tampuratti of the Elaya Taval, and he gave Mattancheri and Vaipin, on either side of the entrance to the Cochin harbour, to his wife and her descendants. His successors naturally resented this, but the Cochin princes would not easily part with them, though they knew that the customs of the country did not sanction such alienations. The princes of Idappali therefore turned to the Zamorin for help to recover their ancestral possessions. The Namputiris of Patinbattedam and Chittur also cast in their lot with Nediyruppu. The former was the lord of Trichur in everything but name. He was the trustee and manager of the temple of Vatakkumnathan and set at naught the rights of the Cochin Rajah as Melkoyma. The lands of the Chittur Namputiri lay not very far off from Trichur. He had a thousand Nayars under him, and as a member of the Panniyurkur he followed the Zamorin's lead.

As the allies of rival parties in the Kur-matsaram the Zamorin and the Cochin Rajah had already waged war with each other. The quarrels among the different branches of the Cochin family led to direct hostilities between them. The immediate cause of the Zamorin's attack on Cochin was the oppression of the Mutta Taval by the princes of Elaya

¹ See page 8 *supra*.

Tavali, to which branch the reigning Rajah belonged ¹. The former sought the protection of the Zamorin, who at once

¹ The following childish story in the Keralolpatti gives us a clue to the cause of the Zamorin's invasion. "In the courtyard of the Cochin palace (which belonged to Mutta Tavali) once stood a citron tree. When the fruits became ripe the princes of the Elaya Tavali used to come with their men and pluck them off. One day a Bhattatiri came there after the Revati Pattattanam and asked the Mutta Tavali prince about the various items of the feast. The Mutta Tavali described to him every item of the feast including the pickles made of citron fruits. The Bhattatiri thereupon expressed a desire that the fruits of the next season might be given to him as a present as soon as they became ripe. The prince replied that as soon as they ripened they were removed by the Elaya Tavali. On hearing this the Bhattatiri said "I will tell you a means by which this can be prevented. Engage a man belonging to the Zamorin to guard them and you will get your fruits." The prince replied "You may then station a man before you go." Thereupon the Bhattatiri left there his own servant. The servant asked him who would avenge his death if he was killed when doing his duty. The Bhattatiri vowed that he would then make the Zamorin trample on the tiles of the Cochin palace. The fruits ripened in their due season, and as usual the Elaya Tavali and his men came to gather them. The Nayar guard forbade it in the name of the Zamorin. Heedless of the injunction, they began to pluck them one after another, when he cut off the hands of the offender and killed him. Thereupon they instantly cut down the guard. On hearing this the Bhattatiri went to Cochin, removed three tiles from the palace roof, and covering them with a silk cloth came to Calicut and offered them as a present to the Zamorin. He said: "The Brahmins speak truth; they do not utter falsehood. The Zamorin's man had been killed at Cochin by the Elaya Tavali. These are the tiles of the Cochin palace. Your

marched in full force against Cochin. The Rajah was defeated at Trichur and his palace occupied. But he escaped with the assistance of the Namputiris ¹, whom the Zamorin always held in respect. Pursuing him, the king of Calicut penetrated into Cochin and seated his partisan on the throne. Like Bettem and Pappu Kovil, the Cochin Rajah paid an annual tribute to his suzerain, obtained his overlord's recognition before his accession, sent contingents to the Zamorin's army, and refrained from striking coins and roofing his palace with tiles. These were not the only disabilities. He had to send all his pepper to Calicut, and the Christians were deprived of the right of navigation, which was transferred to the Moors. ²

Majesty had better kick them away." Thereupon the eyes of our Tampuran became red with anger, his royal body was covered with perspiration, he went to Tiruvilchira, summoned the Thirty Thousand, the Ten Thousand and the Payyanad Lokar, sanctioned the necessary funds, caused Acchan and Elayutu to procure powder and shot, and proceeded against the Cochin palace and destroyed it. (*The Keralolpatti*, pp. 105-107).

¹ Raman Unni Nayar, *A Short History of Kerala*, pp. 111-117.

² “അന്നു പെരിമ്പടപ്പുസ്ഥലം താമരതിരിയുടെ മേൽകോയ്മ അങ്ങിപ്പാത്തു. അതുകൊണ്ടു കൊച്ചിയിൽ കച്ചവടം മടുങ്ങിപ്പോയി മുളകു മുതലായത വില്പാൻ കോഴിക്കോട്ടു അയക്കേണം എന്ന കല്പന ഉണ്ടു. കപ്പലോട്ടം ഇനി നസ്രാണികൾക്കല്ല ചൊന്നകമാപ്പിളമാക്കു ചെയ്യ നക്കോവു; പുതിയവന്റെ (പുതിയ രാജാവിന്റെ) അഭിഷേകത്തിന്ന താമരതിരിയുടെ കല്പന ആവശ്യം. താമരതിരി നാടുവലംവെക്കുമ്പോൾ കൊച്ചിയിൽ ചെന്നു പെരിമ്പടപ്പിലെ നായന്മാരെകണ്ടു നിരൂപിച്ചു പടക്കു കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകും. തിരുമനസ്സിൽ അന്നിയാൽ തമ്പുരാനെ മാറുകയും ചെയ്യും.” (*The Keralapalama*, pp. 22-23.)

When the Portuguese came to India Cochin was a dependency of Calicut. “The chief obstacle,” said Gaspar to Cabral, “in the way (of an alliance between Cochin and Portugal) is

The war against Cochin was followed by a war against Taruva Svarupam and the consequent conquest of Natuvattam,¹ comprising the central core of the present Palghat Taluk. We do not know anything about the early history of this Svarupam. It does not figure in the partition of the Perumal. The original seat of this dynasty was Tarur. If tradition is to be believed, they were originally mountain chiefs. One of the Cochin Rajahs fell in love with a lady of their family, and ever since the two dynasties lived on the most intimate of terms. In course of time they extended their sway as far as the hills in the north and the east, Chittur and Nemmara in the south, and Vatakkancheri in the west. The Rajahs of Cochin employed them as the cure of the Zamorin by inducing them to invade his dominions whenever he turned his arms against them, just as France had used Scotland as the cure of England in the middle ages. Once at least this diversion proved

that like Cannanore the kingdom of Cochin is also subject to the Zamorin". (Correa, *Lendas de India*).

"The king of Cochin was not a king before the Portuguese discovered India; for all the kings who had of late reigned at Calicut made it for their practice and rule to invade Cochin and drive the king out of his estate, taking themselves the possession thereof; thereafter according as their pleasure was, they would give it back to him or not. The king of Cochin gave him every year a certain number of elephants, but he might not strike coins, nor roof his palace with tiles under pain of losing his land".

(*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, pp. 94—95.)

¹ It consists of the villages of Kottayi, Mankara, Kuttanur, Kulalmannam, Vilayanchattanur, Tenkurissi, Tannisaeri, Peruvampa, Koduvayur, Kakkayur, Vilayanur, Manhalur, Erumayur, Kunisseri, Parakkulam, Pallavur, Kutallur, Pallassena, Vatavannur, Kilakkettara, Patinharettara, Vatekkad, Panangattiri, Kollengode and Mutalamata.

too costly. After the occupation of Trichur the Zamorin sent his son, the Kutiravattattu Nayar¹, against Palghat. Like the capable general that he was, he drove a wedge right through the centre of Palghat, splitting it into the two divisions of Temmalappuram and Vatalappuram, neither of which could be directly reached from the other. Highly pleased with this exploit the Zamorin conferred upon him the hereditary governorship of Natuvattam, with the important duty of guarding the passes of the Anamalais, at the foot of which he stationed the Venganad Nampatis.² As a special mark of his favour he gave his son his left anklet and half the revenues of the conquered territory.

In this period the Zamorin waged war with the Venad Atikal and his kinsman, the Kolattiri. The family of the Venad Atikals, known as the Trippappur Svarupam, was as old as that of the Zamorin. The Utaiyars of Venad appear as attestors along with those of Ernad in the grants both of Vira Raghava Chakravarti and Bhaskara Ravi Varman. In the traditions embodied both in the Keralolpatti and in the accounts of the foreign writers Cherman Perumal is represented as forbidding the Zamorin to turn his sword against the Atikal and Kolattiri. But the king of Calicut does not seem to have

¹ This Nayar was a contemporary of the author of *Tantrasamucchaya*, which was composed in A. D. 1427—1428. So the conquest of Natuvattam must have taken place sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century. From Barbosa it is clear that the Zamorin had parted with his left anklet before the arrival of the Portuguese. (See page 33 *supra*.)

In the royal writ recognising the accession of a new Nayar to the Stanam he is commanded to maintain and protect, as in days past, as had been done by his predecessors, the lord of Tiruvilvamala, Chembakulangara Ayyappan, Venganad Appiceti, Palaccheri Vellalar and Anjaraccheri Chettis.

(Calicut Granthvari)

² They belonged to the family of Periyandamukkil Kilakke

considered himself bound by this prohibition when circumstances made it necessary to follow a contrary policy.

The Keralolpatti suggests the cause of the expedition ¹. It was undertaken to protect the rights of the Namputiris. Advancing by Chetwai and Kanhur, the Zamorin crossed the backwater at Vaipin, and marching through Chirangat Karapuram, Payattukkad, Alleppey, Trikunnappula and Kartikapalli, entered Odanad. The Atikal did not wait to be attacked in his own dominions. He propitiated the Zamorin by paying the ex-

Nampiti, who was the Naduvali of Edattaranad and the Nampiti of the western half of Kuttanad or Ponnani. They claim descent from the Gandharva, who, says the tradition, guarded the southern and the northern Ghats. Their ladies are called *Appicchis*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *Apsara-stri*. They had 1000 Nayars under them. Their Ariyittuvalcha is still performed by the Nareri Namputiri; they have to supply Soma and Karinbali for sacrifices; and they are one of the trustees of the Kacchankuricchi temple,

At the beginning of the seventeenth century this branch was threatened with extinction. In the absence of male members Cherooli Acchan performed their duties. In A. D. 1604—1605 Chakkumparampil Unnichunta Nampiyar and his sister, belonging to the parent family, were adopted. (*The Calicut Granthavari* and *The Mackenzie Mss.*)

1 'വേണാടികളുടെ കൂലിച്ചെങ്കക്കാരിൽ ഒരുത്തൻ കന്നൂറിക്കടവിൽ നിന്ന ഒരു ബ്രാഹ്മണനെ കളിയും ഉറക്കയും മുടക്കി തടുത്തു പാപ്പിച്ചിരുന്നു. അന്നു മൂന്നാംകൂറായ തമ്പുരാൻ യഥായോഗം അവിടെക്കു എഴുന്നള്ളി അവനെയും വെട്ടിക്കൊന്നു ബ്രാഹ്മണന്റെ കളിയും ഉറക്കയും കഴിപ്പിച്ചു എഴുന്നള്ളിയിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിന്നു വേണാടികൾ പരിഭവിച്ചു പുരുഷാരത്തെ കല്പിച്ചു: "ചൊറവായിൽ തെക്കൊട്ടു നോമ്പടെ തമ്പുരാന്റെ മേൽക്കായ്ക്കസ്ഥാനം നടക്കരുത്' എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു. അക്കാലം നോമ്പടെ തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുവള്ളത്തിൽ ഏറിയോഗം തിരുകച്ചു ചൊറവായികുന്നു, കാഞ്ഞൂർപുഴകുന്നു, വൈപ്പിയുടെ കൊച്ചി അ

penses of the war, ceding the lands know as Munjiramukkatam¹ and certain Koyma rights in the temple of Padmanabha at Trivandrum², and agreeing to send an annual tribute and a flag of fealty to Tirunavayi for the Mamakam festival.³

The Kolattiri ruled in the north. It is not known when this dynasty came into existence. As they are not mentioned in the

ചിടന്നു, കൊച്ചിയിൽകൂടെ പുറപ്പെട്ടു (വിരഞ്ഞാടു കരപ്പുറത്തുകൂടി) പയററകാട്ടുപാലകേന്നു (ആലപ്പുഴക്കുപുറപ്പെട്ടു) തൃക്കുന്നത്തുപുഴക്കു കൂടി കാത്തികുപ്പള്ളികന്നു മടയന്നാട്ടകരക്കു (മാടു) എഴുന്നള്ളുമ്പോൾ —വേണാടകിളും വന്നു നോമ്പടതു (തമ്പുരാന്റെ) തൃക്കാൽക്കൽ അഭയം ചൊല്ലി നോമ്പടതു അഴിഞ്ഞ അർദ്ധം വടക്കോട്ടുതിരിച്ചു വെച്ചു, കാളം തോക്കും പിഴപോക്കുവാനായിട്ടു ആനയും ഇരുന്നതി. അന്നു ലിംഗയംകൊണ്ടു വിരമട്ടും അടിപ്പിച്ചു ആനക്കുഴത്തിൽ എറിവടക്കോട്ടുഎഴുന്നള്ളി, തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു ഭഗവാനു വായിത്തരം (വൈവിര്യം) കെട്ടിയദേശങ്ങളും കല്പിച്ചുചൊരാജാവ് കന്നലക്കോനാതിരി എന്നു കേട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. (*The Keralolpatti*, pp. 107—108.)

Mr. Kannampra Raman Unni Nayar gives an altogether different story. These places and rights were conferred upon the Erpalad as a mark of honour when he visited the country in the course of a pilgrimage to Cape Comorin.

(*A Short History of Kerala*, pp. 117—119.)

¹ Too wise to hold distant responsibilities the Zamorin at once made over these lands, according to the Keralolpatti, to the temple of Padmanabha, according to another account, to the mutt of Mathappuram. (Ramunui Nayar, *A Short History of Kerala*, p. 119)

² These rights were transferred to a Namputiri belonging to Trichur. He is called Elamkur and is still accorded all the honours due to a Koyma (*Ibid.*, p. 119).

³ “തേക്കു വെണാടകിളോടുകൂടി ജയിച്ചു കപ്പംവാങ്ങി ചേർത്തിരിക്കും കാലം എന്തെന്നും മാറിവരാതെ ഇരിപ്പാൻ കാര്യമായി ചുറുചുറു കത്തിന്നു ഒരു കൊടിയും കൊടുത്തുവിട്ടു. പിന്നെ ചെങ്ങന്നിയൂർ മതില

grants of the Chera kings it is probable that their settlement in Kolattunad took place only later. At the partition of Kerala Udayavarman Kolettiri was made northern Perumal with Chulanna Kammal and Nerpetta Kammal to assist him¹. His dominions stretched in a long line from Korappula to Niles-waram. A prince of his family was stationed at Pantalayini Kollam as southern Viceroy.

During one of his visits to Calicut the young viceroy fell in love with a Tampuratti of the Zamorin's family. The Tampuratti reciprocated his love. Neither of them had the patience to ask for the Zamorin's permission for the marriage. They secretly fled to Kollam and thence to Chirakkal. The Zamorin resolved to wipe off this insult to his family. He occupied Kollam as the preliminary to the advance on Chirakkal. The Kolattiri however sent ambassadors offering to submit to whatever terms the Zamorin might dictate. In the hour of his triumph he was as usual generous to his foe. He was satisfied with the cession of territory he had already occupied and the transfer of Koyma rights over the temple of Talipparampa. To maintain the dignity of the Tampuratti he insisted upon the creation of a separate appanage for her at Nileswaram with 3000 Nayars under her. The Tampuratti was also punished. She had to atone for her rash and unconventional conduct by renouncing for herself and her descendants all claims on Calicut².

കത്തുള്ള കോയ്മയും കൊടുത്തു; ആ സ്ഥാനത്തേക്കു തിരുമനച്ചേരി നമ്പൂ തിരിപ്പാട്ടിന്നു മാനുഷ്യമായി ഇന്നും നടക്കുന്നു.”

(*The Keralaolpatti* p. 107)

¹ *Ibid*; p. 70.

² “നെടിയിരുപ്പുസ്വരൂപത്തിൽനിന്നു ഒരു രാജസ്ത്രീയെ കണ്ടു മോഹിച്ചു ആരും ഗുഹിയാതെ രാത്രിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുപോയി കോലത്തിരി തമ്പുരാൻ ഭാര്യയായിവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. “ആ സ്ത്രീയെ അങ്ങൊട്ടുതന്നെത്തയച്ചുകൂടയാം എന്നുവെച്ചാൽ നെടിയിരുപ്പുതമ്പുരാക്കന്മാർ സമ്മതിക്കുകയില്ല.” എന്നുവെച്ചു മഹാസ്ഥാനത്തിന്നു നീലേശ്വരം മുക്കാൽ നാടും നൂറും നായരെയും കല്പിച്ചുകൊടുത്തു. ആയതത്രെ നീലേശ്വരം

The Kurumbiyatiri or the Rajah of Kurumbranad also contributed to the extension of the Zamorin's authority. At the partition of Kerala he obtained 36 Katams land and 30,000 Nayers of 'divine birth' distributed in 1200 Taras¹. He was closely related to the Rajah of Kottayam and was one of the most powerful Kshatriya Svarupama. At first the relations between Nediyruppu and Kurumbiyatiri were very friendly, and the members of his family had *Sambandham* with the Tampu-rattis of Calicut. One of them, after coming to the *gadi*, gave Payyanad consisting of 6 Katams land, four Kuttams, three Akampatis and eight thousand Nayers and the lands between Korappula and Turasseri to the Zamorin². His successors, finding themselves mulcted in their due rights, tried to recover them by force. But they only lost instead of gaining anything by a war with the Zamorin. They had to sue for peace by sur-rendering Valisseri.

END OF PART I

1 *The Kerulolpatti*, p. 72. 2 “പിന്നെ പയന്നാട :
ന കാതം നാടും ത് കൂടും (വെള്ളിയന്തർകൂടും, തച്ചാളികൂടും, വിയ്യർ
കൂടും, മട്ടാടികൂടും; ഇങ്ങിനെ ത് കൂട്ടായ്ക്കൊർ), ന അകമ്പടി, ൮൦൦൦ നാ
യരും കുറവുനാടാകുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ പുത്തറക്കോൻ കടക്കൽ വേല
യുള്ളവർ. കോരപ്പഴ കടന്ന തുറശ്ശേരിക്ക് ഇപ്പറത്തെ നാട്ടുകോയമ്പാ
നവും ലോകതം കുറമ്പിയാതിരി കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നു നെടിയിരിപ്പിൽ
സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലേക്കു—പെൺവാഴ് (വഴി)യിൽ കിട്ടി അടങ്ങിയ നാടും
ലോകതം എന്നു പറയുന്നു.”

(*Ibid* p. 105.)

PART I

(A. D. 1498—1806)

CHAPTER VIII

VASCO DA GAMA

On Sunday, the 20th of May 1498, some fishermen, who had gone out to the sea, saw four strange ships coming from the north and dropping anchor off Calicut. They at once proceeded to the new-comers to know who they were, so ignorant of the navigation of the coast to come at this part of the year. The size and appearance of these ships no less than the dress, complexion and language of the men on board astonished them. The admiral of the fleet at once invited them to his ship, treated them with courtesy and won their hearts by buying everything they had brought for sale.

The strangers were Vasco da Gama and his sailors. For a long time past the seamen of Portugal were engaged in discovering an all-sea route to India, so that they might appropriate to themselves the lucrative spice trade between Asia and Europe. On July 8, 1497, da Gama left Lisbon with four ships. Overcoming many hardships and dangers on the way, he reached Melinde. And with the assistance of a Konkani pilot furnished by the Sultan of this place, he came at last to Calicut, thus winning immortal glory for himself and his band.

With the fishermen, whose sympathies he had gained by considerate treatment, he sent one of the numerous convicts he had brought with him to spy out the land and sound the attitude of its inhabitants. As soon as he landed he became the centre of a gaping crowd, swelling in numbers every moment. But none of those who came to have a look at the white man knew his language, and he was paraded through the bazaar,

where a Moor of Tunis, named Bontaybo ¹, recognised him as a native of Portugal, and thus put an end to his sufferings. The kindly Moor took him to his own quarters, and after treating him 'to a repast of cakes made of wheat-flour and honey called *apes*', accompanied him to the admiral's flagship.

Bontaybo represented the Zamorin as a noble and enlightened prince, ever alert to increase the trade of his dominions and the prosperity of his subjects. He assured da Gama of a hearty welcome if his object was trade, and advised him to send an ambassador to secure his favour.

Accordingly, da Gama sent two of his men with Bontaybo to the Zamorin, who was then at Ponnani. As soon as they were admitted into his presence he 'commanded each of the two messengers to be presented with a piece of cotton cloth and two pieces of silk, such as he used in his own apparel'. He welcomed them to his dominions and desired them to tell da Gama that he would receive him at Calicut. As the monsoon was about to burst, and as the Calicut roads were open without any protection, he sent a pilot to take their ships to Pantalayini, and ordered the Talachennavar or Kutwal of Calicut to go there to receive da Gama and bring him with all honours to his palace at Calicut.

On Monday, the 28th of May, da Gama came on shore with twelve attendants, all in their best attire. 'On landing', says Castaneda ², "the general was received with every demonstration of respect by the Kutwal, attended by 200 Nayars, and a great concourse of natives, both of the country and the city of Calicut. After compliments were passed, the general was placed in an *andor* or litter, which the King of Calicut had sent for his use.

¹ Some authorities call him Monzaida.

² Castaneda, *The History of the Conquest of India*, (Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II.) p. 359 et seq.

"The general being mounted in one *andor* and the Kutwal in another, they set out for a town called Capocate ¹, all the rest being on foot; but the Kutwal appointed certain people of the country to carry the baggage of our men, which was restored to them at Capocate, where the party stopped for refreshment, the general and his people being in one house and the Kutwal in another. After resting and refreshing themselves at Capocate the general and his *suite* were embarked in a vessel called *en sangada*, consisting of two *almadias* lashed side by side. The Kutwal and his train embarked in many other boats; and the whole party went upon a river which discharges itself into the sea at this place. The numbers of the people that came to the river-side to view our men as they passed were quite countless. After going about a league up this river, our people came to a place where many large ships were drawn up on the shore. The whole party here disembarked, and proceeded by land, the general and the Kutwal in *andors*, as before, being surrounded by thousands who were curious to see the strangers, even many women pressing into the crowd with their children slung at their backs.

"From this place the Kutwal carried the general to one of their pagodas or idol temples ², into which they entered, and which, the Kutwal said, was a church of great holiness. This the general believed to be the case, fancying it to be a church of the Christians; which he the more readily believed as he saw seven little bells hung over the principal door ³. On the general going into the pagoda, they took holy water with a sprinkle from a font, and threw it on the Kutwal and the general

¹ Kappat, a town noted for its sapphires.

² Puttur.

³ The Portugese at this time thought that all the people of India except the Muhammadan settlers were Christians. "They mistook the *janeo* or sacred cord of the Hindus," says Whiteway, "for a stole".

and their attendants. After this they gave them powdered sandal-wood to throw upon their heads, as used to be done amongst us with ashes ; and they were directed to do the same on their arms. But our people, as being clothed, omitted this latter part of the ceremony.

"In this pagoda they saw many images painted on the walls, some of which had monstrous teeth projecting an inch from their mouths, and some had four arms; all of them so ugly that they seemed like devils, which raised doubts among our people whether they were actually in a Christian church. In the middle of the pagoda stood a chapel, having a roof or dome of fine stone like a tower, in one part of which was a door of wire, to which there led a flight of stone steps. On the inside of this tower an image was observed in a recess of the wall, which our men could not see distinctly, as the place was somewhat dark, and they were not permitted to go near, as none was allowed to approach except the priests. But from certain words and signs our people understood this to be an image of the Virgin ; on which the general and his attendants went upon their knees to say their prayers. John de Sala, however, being very doubtful that this was not a Christian church, owing to the monstrous images on the walls, said, as he fell on his knees, "If this be the devil, I worship God," on which the general looked at him with a smile. The Kutwal and his people, as they approached the chapel, prostrated themselves three times on their faces with their hands extended before them, after which they arose and said their prayers standing.

"From this place they went forwards to the city of Calicut, and were taken at their arrival into another pagoda, ¹ similar to the former. After this, on entering the city, the crowd was so great that they could hardly make their way through the streets. The general was astonished to see such multitudes and praised God for having brought him in safety to this city, humbly beseeching His divine mercy to guide him on his way

¹ Westhill.

that he might accomplish the objects of his expedition and return safely to Portugal. At length the pressure of the crowd became so great that the bearers were unable to get forwards, and the whole company was forced to take shelter in a house. They were here joined by the Kutwal's brother, a nobleman who was sent by the King to accompany the general to the palace and had many Nayars with him. The procession, again, set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way; and one of the Nayars carried a *caliver*, which he fired off at intervals. After they were joined by the Kutwal's brother the mob gave way for the procession to pass, and showed as much reverence as if the King himself had been present. There went in the procession at least 3000 armed men, and the multitudes of spectators in the streets, at the doors and windows, and on the roofs, were quite innumerable. The general was well-pleased at his honourable reception, and said pleasantly to those of his company "They little think in Portugal how honourably we are received here."

"The procession arrived at the palace an hour before sunset. Though only constructed of earth, the palace was very extensive and seemed a handsome structure, having great numbers of trees interspersed among the different buildings, with pleasant gardens full of fine flowers and odouriferous plants, and many fountains; (as the Zamorin never goes out of his palace while resident in Calicut). On arrival at the palace, several Kaymals and other noblemen came out to receive the general, who led him into a large square in front of the gates, whence they passed through several courts, at the gate of each of which there were ten porters who were obliged to lay about them with sticks among the people to clear the way. On coming to the gate of the house in which the King resided, they were met by the chief Brahmin or high priest of the household,¹ who embraced the general and conducted him and his people into the palace. At this time the people pressed forwards with much

¹ The Talappana Namputiri.

eagerness to get a sight of the King, which they very seldom do as he goes very rarely out of the palace; and the multitude was so great that some of them were stifled in the throng, which would likewise have been the case with two of our men, if they had not gone on before, with the assistance of the porters, who severely hurt many of the mob, and forced them to make way.

"On passing the last gate, the general and his attendants went along with the noblemen into a great hall, surrounded with seats of timber raised in rows above one another like our theatres, the floor being covered by a carpet of green velvet, and walls hung with silk of various colours. The King was of very brown complexion, large stature, and well-advanced in years. He lay on a sofa covered with a cloth of white silk and gold, and a rich canopy over his head. On his head he had a cap or mitre ¹ adorned with precious stones and pearls and had jewels of the same kind in his ears². He wore a jacket of fine cotton cloth having buttons of large pearls and button holes wrought with gold thread. About his middle he had a piece of white calico, which came only down to his knees; and both his fingers and toes were adorned with many gold rings set with fine stones; his arms and legs were covered with many golden bracelets. Close to the sofa there stood a gold shallow bason on a gold stand, in which was betel, which the King chewed with salt and *areca*...The King had a gold bason on a golden stand, into which he spat out the betel when chewed, and a gold fountain with water for washing his mouth. The King was served with betel by an old man, who stood close to the sofa; all the others who were in the presence held their left hands to their mouths, that their breaths might not reach the King, and it is thought unseemly for anyone to spit or sneeze in the presence.

¹ The frontlet called Tirumudippattam.

² Compare page 25 *supra*, note 1.

"When the general entered the hall in which the King sat, he stooped and bowed down three times according to the custom of the country, lifting up his hands as one that praised God. The King immediately made signs for the general to draw near and commanded him to be seated on one of the seats; and the rest of the Portuguese came forwards, making similar reverences and were likewise commanded to sit down opposite the King."

After the customary greetings the Zamorin and da Gama retired to another chamber to talk about the mission on which he had come. "The King took his seat on a sofa, attended by only his interpreter, the chief Brahmin, the old man who served him with betel, and the Comptroller of the Household. The King then asked the general from what part of the world he was come and what his desires were. He answered that he was ambassador from the King of Portugal, the most powerful of the Christian sovereigns in the west, both in extent of dominions, numbers of people and riches; that he and his predecessors, hearing that there were Christian kings and princes in the Indies, of which the Zamorin of Calicut was the chief, were exceedingly desirous of sending some of their captains to discover the way, that they might enter into friendship with the King of this country as brothers; and for this reason he had been sent to His Highness; not that the King, his master, had any need of his riches, having abundance already and more than was needed both of gold and silver and other valuable things; that all the former captains who had been sent at great charges upon this discovery, after having employed a year or more in vain and having consumed all their victuals, had returned again to Portugal; but that the present King, Dom Manuel, being anxious to bring this enterprise to a successful conclusion, had entrusted him with command of three ships (and a sloop) well supplied with provisions, commanding him not to return to Portugal without discovering the way to the Christian King of Calicut, and would certainly order his head to

be cut off if he returned without fulfilling his orders; the said King, his master, had given him two letters to deliver to His Highness, which he would present next day as it was now somewhat late; when he would convince His Highness that the King of Portugal was his friend and brother, and would request His Highness in confirmation of friendship to send an ambassador to the King of Portugal, as was the custom among Christian princes. The Zamorin expressed his satisfaction with this embassy, and told the general that he made him welcome to his capital; and since the King of Portugal desired to be his friend and brother, he would be the like to him, and should send an ambassador to him as desired. The Zamorin then made enquiry into many circumstances respecting Portugal, how far distant it was from Calicut, how long the general had been upon the voyage and other things. And as it grew late, the King allowed him to retire, first asking him whether he would reside with the Moors or the Malabars (Nayars); but as the general chose rather to have a house to himself the King gave orders to a Moor, who was his factor, to accompany him and to provide him with everything necessary for his accommodation.

"Leaving the palace late, it being now towards ten o'clock, the Kutwal and the rest who had accompanied him there escorted him back to where he was to lodge; and as they were on their way there fell such rain that the streets ran in torrents, in so much that the factor gave orders to some of the people to carry our general on their backs. The general was displeased at this and the delay, and asked angrily at the factor if he meant to carry him all the night through the streets. The factor replied that he could not do otherwise as the city was large and much scattered. He then conducted him into his own house to rest for some time, and procured a horse for him to ride; but as the horse had no saddle the general preferred to go on foot. At length he was brought to a very good lodging, to which his people had previously brought all his luggage."

Next day, da Gama sent his presents to the Zamorin. They consisted of four capotes or cloaks of scarlet cloth, six hats, four branches of coral, twelve *almasares*, a box containing seven brass vessels, a chest of sugar, two barrels of oil and a cask of honey. There was nothing new or strange about them. The Kutwal, the Koya and even Bontaybo pronounced them to be unsatisfactory, and advised him to offer gold and silver, which the captain did not however like to part with.

Da Gama's parsimony played into the hands of the Moors. To them his coming foreboded nothing but evil. The establishment of the Portuguese at Calicut would deprive them of their monopoly of the export and import trade with the west. On his way he had already inflicted some damage on their co-religionists. They represented to the Zamorin that da Gama was¹ but a pirate, and the poor commonplace presents he brought gave the lie direct to his pretension that he was the ambassador of the mighty king of Portugal. They were unworthy of the king, who, he said, had sent him, and of the king to whom they were offered. They told the Zamorin that the new friendship might break the old, and if the Portuguese were admitted they would leave the city in a body, and the country would be ruined¹.

The Zamorin was not uninfluenced by these arguments, and next day he summoned da Gama to the palace. On his arrival he was questioned as to who he was and why he had sent such trifles. "Did you come to discover stones or men? If men and your king is so great—why did he not send a present?" asked the angry ruler². Da Gama vehemently protested against the aspersions cast by the Moors, and produced his sovereign's letter, which he had promised at the first interview to send the very next day, to establish his *bona fides*. It was to the following effect:—"As soon as it became known to the

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 10.

² Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 80.

King of Portugal that the King of Calicut was one of the mightiest kings of all the Indies and a Christian, he was anxious to establish a treaty of amity and commerce with him, that he might procure spices, which were in great abundance in his country, and to procure which the merchants of many parts of the world trade thither. And if His Highness would give a license to send for spices he would send many things from his kingdom, which were not to be had in the dominions of His Highness ; or if these things were not satisfactory, of which the general would shew him some samples, he was willing to send money, both gold and silver, to purchase the spices. And finally, His Highness was requested to refer to the general for further information." This letter removed the suspicions of the Zamorin, and he permitted da Gama to return to his ships, freely bring his goods to the shore, and sell them to the best advantage.

On the following day, the last day of May, da Gama set out for Pantalayini, accompanied by the Kutwal. They reached there the same evening. But on account of violent squalls in the sea no boatmen would venture to take the captain to his ship, which was moored far from the shore. It was not till June 2 that da Gama was able to reach his ships. This enforced delay soured his spirit, and rendered him suspicious of the Kutwal—a suspicion which was confirmed by the Kutwal setting armed guards round his lodgings for his protection against the angry Moors, which da Gama mistook for forcible detention.

The captain cast off his fears as soon as he was on board his ship. Regular trade was established. A house was engaged for him by the Kutwal to keep the merchandise he chose to send on shore. The Zamorin sent some Konkani merchants to buy the goods and some Nayars to guard the ware-house. But the sales were poor, as it must needs be in such a small town as Pantalayini, and it was resolved to send the wares to Calicut. The Zamorin himself bore the expenses of transporting them, so obliging was he to the new-comers.

Though the Moors did not like da Gama he had no reason for complaint. There was absolutely no ill-treatment, and he was able to sell his goods and buy spices. "Our people," says Castaneda,¹ "were courteously received and entertained by the natives, and were even lodged in their houses occasionally. They bartered several things on shore, such as bracelets of brass and copper, pewter and other European articles, for the productions of the country, as freely and quietly as if they had been in Lisbon. Fishermen and others of the idolators came off to the ships, selling fish, cocoanuts, and poultry for biscuit or money; while others came off with their children, merely to have a sight of their ships. On all these occasions the general commanded them to be well-treated and to have food given them to conciliate the people and secure the friendship of the Zamorin. This continued till the 10th of August, during which time the ships had always some of the natives on board."

On this day he sent a messenger to the Zamorin with some presents, consisting of scarfs of different colours, silks, corals and various other articles, to inform him that it was time for him to depart for Portugal. He asked the king to send him one bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of other spices for which he was to take in exchange the goods that still remained unsold. The envoy had to wait for four days before he could see the Zamorin. He told him that da Gama might leave the country when he liked, but regretted that he could not accept his merchandise in exchange for the articles he now asked for. He must give gold or silver, and further he must pay the usual customs duties, which amounted to 600 serasynes (£223). The Portuguese captain had expected instant compliance with his demand, and was therefore deeply mortified with the Zamorin's reply. And when the Zamorin detained the factor and his clerk as securities for payment he flew into a paroxysm of rage, and at once seized six Nayars and sixteen Mukkuvas or fishermen who had come on board to see his ships.

¹ Castaneda, *The History of the Conquest of India*, p. 379.

When the Zamorin was apprised of this he at once released the Portuguese factor and his clerk, and sent them back with a letter to the king of Portugal to the following effect:—“Vasco da Gama, a gentleman of your house, came to my country, of whose arrival I was glad. In my country there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, pepper and precious stones. The commodities I wish to procure from your country are silver, gold and scarlet”.¹

On their arrival da Gama set on shore the six Nayers whom he had detained as hostages, but hoisted sail, taking the Mukkuvas with him. He refused to send them back even after the Zamorin had returned the wares he had distrained in lieu of customs duties. Considerations for the well-being and safety of the next expedition that might be sent from Portugal, however, made da Gama send back one of his prisoners to Calicut with a letter of apology to the Zamorin. He reached Portugal on the 8th of September 1499, and made his triumphal entry into the capital on the 18th.

“Poets and even historians”, says Whiteway,² “have surrounded the comparatively simple facts of this voyage with fictions, but stripped off its romance the story does not suffer in interest. It stands out as one of the epoch-making landmarks in the world’s history. Apart from its effect on the course of events, the first meeting since the days of Alexander, 1800 years before, of the civilisations of the East and the West must always retain its interest. Throughout the whole stay of the Portuguese, the Samuri showed no signs of treachery...On the other hand, da Gama’s conduct in carrying off the five men he had entrapped on board his ships is indefensible.”

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

² Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 82.

CHAPTER IX

THE RUPTURE WITH THE PORTUGUESE

The news of the return of Vasco da Gama moved Portugal from end to end. The king sent a special messenger to welcome him to his capital, and the streets were thronged with people eager to see the man whom they had long thought dead and who had made such a wonderful voyage. Da Gama was made a knight, and given a perpetual pension of 300,000 reis per annum and the right to import every year duty free 200 ducats worth of spices. The king assumed for himself the title of the 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India.'

As an investment the financial results of the expedition exceeded all bounds of reasonable expectation. The value of the cargo brought home was as sixty to one compared with all the expenses of the voyage. It was resolved therefore to establish permanent relations with India.

A fleet of thirteen ships was got ready, and laden with commodities that, da Gama told, would have a sale at Calicut. Pedro Alvares Cabral was appointed captain-general of the expedition. He was instructed to make an alliance with the Zamorin if he was friendly or with his enemies if he was hostile. "If the Zamorin," says Castaneda, ¹ "would not quietly consent or give sufficient lading to the ships, he should make cruel war upon him. If the Zamorin consented to the establishment of a factory and trade, the general was secretly to request him not to allow any of the Moors of Mecca to remain or trade in Calicut or any other harbour in his dominions, and promise that the Portuguese should supply all such commodities as used to be brought by the Moors, of better quality and cheaper price than theirs."

¹ Castaneda, *The History of the Conquest of India*, pp. 396—397.

The fleet set sail from Lisbon on the 9th of March, 1500. On the way it was driven by a storm to South America. By this accident Cabral became the discoverer of Brazil. On the 13th of September he dropped anchor off Calicut.

The reception accorded to him by the Zamorin was most cordial. Some of the principal Nayars of the court were sent to his ship to invite him to come on shore.

Next day Cabral sent Gaspar, a converted Jew, to ask for a "safe conduct" for a deputation from the general to wait on His Highness; and along with Gaspar the four Malabars who had been carried away from Calicut by Dom Vasco da Gama were also sent on shore. These men were all finely dressed in Portuguese habits and all the inhabitants of the city came to see them, rejoiced to find they had been well-treated. Though the Zamorin was well-pleased with the safe return of his subjects, he refused to allow them to come into his presence, as they were only fishermen or of a low caste; but he sent for Gaspar, whom he received with civility and whom he assured that our people might come on shore in perfect safety. On receiving the intelligence, Cabral sent Alonso Hurtado to the Zamorin, intimating that the Portuguese fleet had come on purpose to settle trade and friendship, and that the general wished for an audience in which to arrange these matters with His Highness, but had orders from the King, his master, not to go on shore without sufficient pledges for his security; among whom he demanded the Kutwal of Calicut and Araxamenoca², one of the chiefs of the Nayars.

"The Zamorin was unwilling to send the hostages required, alleging that they were old and sickly, and offered to send others who were better able to endure the hardships of living on board the ships. This negotiation lasted three days, as Hurtado insisted on this as a necessary preliminary. At length desirous of having trade settled with us, owing to the advantages

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 400 *et seq.*

² Ernad Menon.

which would accrue to his revenue, the Zamorin agreed to give the hostages required. Before leaving his ship Cabral directed that the hostages should be well-treated, but on no account they were to be delivered to anyone even though demanded in his name.

"On the 18th of September Cabral went on shore magnificently dressed and attended by thirty of his principal officers and others, the king's servants, in as much state as if he had been King of Portugal; carrying with him rich furniture for his apartments, with a cupboard of plate, containing many rich pieces of gilt silver. He was met by many principal Nayars, sent by the Zamorin to wait upon him, and attended by a numerous train, amongst whom were many persons sounding trumpets, sacbuts, and other musical instruments. The Zamorin waited for him in a gallery close by the shore, which had been erected on purpose; and while the general went towards the shore, accompanied by all the boats of the fleet, dressed out with flags and streamers, the hostages were carried on board his ship, where they were loath to enter till they should see the general on shore, lest he should return and detain them; but they were at last reassured of their safety by Aries Correa. On landing Cabral was received in great state by several Kaymals, Panikkars and other principal Nayars; by whose directions he was placed in an *andor* or chair, in which he was carried to the *serame* or hall of audience where the king awaited his arrival. The *serame* or gallery was all hung with rich carpets, called *alcatifas*, and at the farther end the Zamorin sat in an alcove or recess, resembling a small chapel, with a canopy of unshorn crimson velvet over his head and having twenty silk cushions under and about him. The Zamorin was almost naked having only a piece of white cotton round his waist, wrought with gold. On his head he wore a cap of cloth of gold, resembling a helmet. In his ears he had rich jewels of diamonds, sapphires, and pearls, two of the latter being as large as walnuts. His arms, from the elbows to the wrists,

were covered with golden bracelets, set with numberless precious stones of great value; and his legs, from the knees to the ankles, were similarly adorned. His fingers and toes had numerous rings, and on one of his great toes he wore a ruby of great size and wonderful brilliancy. One of his diamonds was bigger than a large bean. All these were greatly surpassed by his girdle of gold and jewels, which was altogether inestimable, and was so brilliant that it dazzled the eyes of the beholders. Beside the Zamorin was a throne or state-chair, all of gold and jewels; and his *andor*, in which he had been carried from the palace, was of similar richness, and stood near him. He was attended by many trumpeteers, seventeen of whom had silver trumpets, and three of them gold, all the mouth-pieces being finely wrought and set with jewels. Although in full day, the hall was lighted by many silver lamps, in the fashion of the Moors. Close by the King there stood a spitting basin of gold, and several silver perfuming pans, which produced an excellent odour. Six paces from the King, he was attended on by his two brothers, who were the nearest heirs to the kingdom; and a little further off many noblemen standing.

"On entering the hall, and seeing the splendid state of the Zamorin, Cabral would have kissed his hand, as is the custom of Europe; but was informed that this was not customary among them, and therefore sat down in a chair near the King, which was appointed for him as an especial honour. He then delivered his letter of credit from the King of Portugal, written in Arabic, and then said that the King, his master, willing to cultivate trade and friendship with the Zamorin and his subjects, had given him orders to require permission to establish a factory or house of trade in Calicut, which should always be supplied with every kind of merchandise that was in demand: and requested the Zamorin to supply a sufficient loading of spices for the ships under his command, which he was ready to pay for, either by means of the commodities he had on board or ready money. The Zamorin seemed or affected to be pleased

with the embassy, and said that the King of Portugal was welcome to everything in his city of which he was in need. At this time the present from the King of Portugal was brought forwards : which, among other things, contained a richly wrought basin and ewer of silver gilt ; a gilt silver flagon and cover of similar workmanship ; two silver maces ; four cushions, two of which were cloth of gold and the other two of unshorn crimson velvet ; two very rich arras hangings, one ornamental with human figures and the other with representations of trees and flowers. The Zamorin was much satisfied with these presents, and said that the general might either retire to his lodgings for rest and refreshment or might return to his ships, as he thought best ; but as the hostages were men of high caste and could not endure the sea, who could neither eat nor drink while on board consistent with their custom, it became necessary that they should come on shore ; wherefore, if the general would return to his ship and send these men on shore, and was inclined to come back next day to conclude all matters relative to the trade of Calicut, the same hostages should again be sent on board. As the general placed confidence in the assurances of the Zamorin, he went on board, leaving Hurtado and other seven of his people in charge of his valuables that were left on shore. When at the waterside and ready to embark, a servant of one of the hostages, who was despatched by the Comptroller of the Zamorin's Household, went before in an almadia or small pinnace, and gave notice to the hostages that the general was coming on board ; on which they leapt into the sea, meaning to escape to the land in the almadia with the servant. But Aries Correa went immediately with some of the Portuguese warriors in a boat and retook two of the hostages, with three or four of the Malabars, belonging to the almadia. The rest of the hostages, among whom was the Kutwal, got into the city.

"When Cabral came on board and learnt what had happened, he ordered the two remaining hostages to be secured below the deck, and sent a complaint to the Zamorin against

the conduct of the hostages, laying the blame on the Comptroller. He desired the messenger to inform the Zamorin of the situation of the two remaining hostages, and to say that they should be liberated whenever the Portuguese and the goods on shore were sent back. Next day, the Zamorin came to the shore accompanied by 12,000 men, and sent off the Portuguese people and their commodities to the ships in thirty almadias with orders to bring back the hostages. But none of the Malabars in the almadias dared to approach the ships, being afraid of the Portuguese, and returned therefore to the land, without delivering our people and commodities. Next day, the general sent some of his own boats to land the pledges, but at some distance from the almadias; on which occasion Araxamenoca, one of the hostages, leapt into the sea with an intention to escape. The general gave orders to keep Araxamenoca in strict custody; but finding at the end of three days that the Zamorin did not send for him, and that during all this period he refused all sustenance, Cabral took compassion on him and sent him to the Zamorin, requesting that two of our men who remained on shore might be sent on board, which was complied with."

Three days afterwards, the Zamorin sent two Guzerati merchants to Cabral, who sent Aries Correa with them back to the shore to complete the negotiations. Correa was accommodated in a house belonging to the Guzerati merchant, who was further ordered to help him to sell his goods. Unfortunately there was little or no demand for the Portuguese wares and consequently the prices offered were very low. The wily Moors cornered all the spices, drugs and jewels which the Portuguese wanted to buy, and thus forced up their prices. Correa suspected a conspiracy between the Guzeratis and the Moors, and every attempt made by the Sahabantra Koya, who was the farmer of the customs, to prevent the Portuguese removing their purchases without paying duty was interpreted by him as organised and deliberate obstruction. So he advised Cabral to weigh anchor and leave Calicut.

When Cabral communicated his suspicions to the Zamorin he promised to make enquiries, and as an earnest of his sincerity he withdrew the Guzerati merchant and appointed a Moplah, named Koya Pakki, in his stead. The Zamorin further ordered that the Portuguese wares should be removed to a house close to that of Koya Pakki, so that the Europeans might have greater freedom to buy and sell, without any interruptions from the Moors. "For their greater security, a deed of gift was made of this house by the Zamorin to the King of Portugal and his successors for ever, a copy of which, signed and sealed by the Zamorin, was enclosed in a casket of gold ¹, that it might be conveyed to Portugal; and permission was given to display a flag of the King of Portugal from the top of the factory".

The Portuguese could not at all complain of these arrangements; for their trade at once increased. "Our factory," says Castaneda, "had tolerably good fortune in conducting its trade by the assistance of Cosebequin; and the natives, finding our factory favoured by the Zamorin, behaved so very civilly to our people that they could go about whenever they pleased, with as much freedom and safety as in Lisbon."

One day, while the Portuguese were thus freely and safely trading at Calicut, a Cochin vessel with seven elephants on board strove to pass the harbour without paying the customary dues. The Zamorin wanted to test the valour and skill of the Europeans. So he asked Cabral to send his ships to capture it. They pursued it to Cannanore and took it. Highly pleased with this achievement, the Zamorin bestowed generous rewards on its captors.

This roused the fears and jealousies of the Moors. They waited in a body on the Zamorin and said:—"Emperather of all the Malabars, as great as the mightiest sovereign of the Indies, and most powerful among the princes of the earth, we

¹ According to Purchas, the patent or charter was a table of gold with letters engraved for perpetual memory.

(Purchas, *The Pilgrims*, Vol. II, p. 77)

are astonished that you should debase yourself by receiving into your country these enemies of your law and strangers to the customs of your kingdom, who seem pirates rather than merchants. We should not wonder at your so doing, were your city in want of commodities they bring, or could not otherwise dispose of the spiceries they purchase. But we, whom you have long known and whose fidelity you are well assured of by experience, have always done both to the great increase of your revenue. You appear to forget all this by receiving those whom you do not know into your favour, and employing them to revenge your injuries, as if your own numerous and faithful subjects were incompetent for the purpose. In this you dishonour yourself, and embolden these strangers to hold your power in contempt, and to act, as we know they will hereafter, by robbing and plundering all merchant ships that frequent your port, to the ruin of your country, and who will at length take possession of your city. This is the true intent of their coming into these seas, and not to trade for spices as they pretend. Their country is almost 5000 leagues from hence, and the voyage out and home is attended by many dangers through unknown and stormy seas, besides the great cost of their large ships with so many men and guns. Hence, at whatever prices they might dispose of their spices in Portugal, it is obvious that such a trade must be carried on with great loss; which is manifest that they are pirates and not merchants, who come here to rob and take your city. The house you have given them for a factory they will convert into a fort, from whence they will make war on you when you least expect it; if you do not listen to our advice, there are other cities in Malabar to which we will remove, and to which the spices will be conveyed by us.

"To this harangue the Zamorin gave a favourable answer, saying that he would give attention to all they had said, of which indeed he already had some suspicions; that he had employed the Portuguese to seize the ship to try their courage, and had

allowed them to load their ships, that the money they had brought to purchase goods might remain in the country; and finally, he would not forsake them in favour of the strangers. The Moors were by no means satisfied with all this, because the Zamorin did not order us to depart from Calicut and did not stop our trade which was their chief purpose."

The Zamorin had in fact no intention of turning them out of Calicut. He must have been convinced by the arrival of Cabral that the Portuguese were not pirates, and by Cabral's seizure of the Cochin ship that their skill in navigation was by no means negligible. With a shrewdness amounting almost to intuition he might have even felt that a new star had appeared in the western firmament to control the destinies of the Indian ocean, and the rise and fall of his fortunes depended to some extent upon whether it was malevolent or benevolent. But his acquaintance with them was too short to inspire trust, which could grow only slowly; and he could not all at once sever his age-long connexions at their bidding. He would neither shut out the new-comers nor alienate his old subjects. His was a policy of common prudence, of caution and conciliation.

But the tactlessness of Cabral turned him into their worst foe. Do what he might, Koya Pakki was able to procure lading only for two ships. The native merchants, many of whom had already received advances from the Moors even for the ensuing year, would not sell any pepper to the Portuguese. They were also influenced by the vigorous propaganda which the Moors carried on against the Europeans. Cabral appealed to the Zamorin, and begged him to consider that it was time to begin their return voyage. The Zamorin, thereupon, gave them permission to search the Moorish ships and appropriate whatever pepper they might find in them, provided they paid the current market price to their legitimate owners. At this time, a Moorish ship was actually taking in pepper. Correa informed Cabral that it would leave the harbour before dawn and with it would disappear their last chance of obtaining a lading. Cabral did not, however, approve the highhanded procedure.

suggested by his subordinate, of robbing the ship. But Correa threatened to accuse him of culpable negligence on their return, and Cabral, knowing how in such matters motives of commercial profit were apt to outweigh all considerations of abstract justice, had to yield. At dead of night, Correa and his men seized the Moorish vessel and transferred its contents to the factory.

The Moplahs were already chafing under the restraining hand of the Zamorin. It wanted only a spark to fire their suppressed jealousy and hatred. The sailors, who escaped to the shore, raised the alarm. At once an excited mob of about 4000 Moplahs surrounded the factory and stormed it. Correa, the evil genius who planned and carried out the midnight robbery, was killed with fifty of his men; five priests and twenty soldiers escaped to the ships; and a few were taken prisoners¹.

Next day, the 17th of December, Cabral sent a messenger to the Zamorin to accuse the Moors of violence and murder, and demand compensation. The Moors also appealed to him. He promised to enquire; and, in the meanwhile, to protect the factory and the captives from further outbursts of mob fury placed them in the custody of his officers.

Cabral could not understand the motives that actuated the Zamorin. Like Vasco da Gama he interpreted what was really done for protection as punishment, and seized ten large ships that were lying in the harbour. Six hundred Moors were slain in the *melee*, and three elephants, found in one of the ships, were killed and salted for the return voyage. Then he bombarded the city and inflicted much destruction. The reply from the town was weak and ineffective. "The natives brought down to the shore", says Castaneda, "such small pieces of ordnance as they possessed, which they fired off against us, but without

¹ Strange to say, the two children of Correa were enjoying a peaceful sleep all this while with the children of the friendly Muhammadan, Koya Pakki, in his harem.

being able to do us any injury ; whereas not a shot of ours missed taking effect, either among the multitude of our enemies who flocked to the shore or on the buildings of the city, both the houses of their inhabitants and the temples of their deities receiving incredible damage". Part of the palace was destroyed, and a Kaymal, who was standing near the Zamorin in the palace, was killed by a ball. To produce an impression on the natives Cabral set fire at night to the ten ships he had seized in the morning and sent them against the shore. Then he proceeded to Pantalayini, whence he sailed for Cochin, which he reached on the 24th of December.

During his short stay at Calicut Cabral had been able to obtain some knowledge of the political conditions of Kerala. He was informed of the secret disaffection of the Cochin Rajah, Unni Goda Varma, who was fretting under the galling yoke of the Zamorin. Hence he proceeded to Cochin. In his hatred for the Zamorin, the Cochin Rajah received his enemies with open arms. Cabral promised on behalf of his master not only to make him independent but install him at Calicut. Unni Goda Varma, on his part, gave them a factory with Nayers to guard it. Thus were sown the seeds of a revolution in Kerala, which arrested the progress of the Zamorin, and subjected the Rajah of Cochin to three centuries of dependence upon a foreign power, more abject and humiliating than what he had sought to rid himself of.

The Zamorin sent a fleet of 80 ships to chase Cabral out of Cochin. It was sighted on the 9th of January 1501. The Portuguese captain did not like to risk the cargo he had collected with so much trouble. That very night, extinguishing all his lights, he stole away from Cochin like a thief. In his haste, which rather looked like cowardice, he forgot to send on shore the Nayar hostages who were in his ship, and take on board his own men, about thirty in number, including Duarte Barbosa, whom he had placed in the factory.

On the way he touched at Cannanore on the 15th of January. The Kolattiri, still nursing his anger for the losses inflicted on him by the Zamorin, thought this a good opportunity to pay off old scores and made a treaty with Cabral.

"The voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral", says Whiteway,¹ "is very important because, through the incapacity and ineptitude of its commander, the breach with the Samuri became irreparable, and because the discovery of Cochin entirely altered the policy of the Portuguese. The Cochin harbour was far superior to the open roadstead of Calicut, and the magnificent inland communications it had with the pepper country were unlike anything obtaining at its rival. Calicut owed its importance partly to the ability of its rulers, but mainly to the assistance they received from the Muhammadan traders that frequented it. By adopting Cochin, therefore, the Portuguese were certain of having the chief on their side, as he could look to them only to support his position."

¹ Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 80.

THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH COCHIN

The experience of Cabral convinced Dom Manuel of the necessity of sending a large fleet to India if the grandiose title which he had assumed should remain more than an empty phrase. His council was sharply divided on this question. At last, the profits expected from the spice trade and the hope of propagating the Catholic faith prevailed against all considerations of danger, and it was resolved to maintain the Indian connexion. A large squadron consisting of 20 ships was despatched to India on the 3rd of March 1502 under the command of Vasco da Gama.

The role of da Gama now was not that of a messenger, as it had been in his first voyage, but of an avenger. Off Cannanore, on the 1st of October, he came upon a ship returning from Mecca, having 300 pilgrims on board. It belonged to Sahabantha Koya's brother, whom da Gama regarded as the worst enemy of his nation at Calicut. The wealth on board, it is said ¹, would have sufficed to ransom every Christian slave in the kingdom of Fez and even then leave a handsome balance. The passengers offered all this for the grand mercy of being landed anywhere on the coast with their bare skin. Jovar Pakki, the ambassador sent to the Zamorin by the Sultan of Egypt, promised spices to load all his twenty ships in twenty days with the perpetual friendship of the Zamorin to boot. But da Gama was unmoved. His mission was not spices but revenge. He removed all the merchandise of the Moorish vessel to his own, and after dismantling it and confining its passengers under the hatches, set fire to it. "The Mubamadans however extinguished the conflagration, collected the very few arms that were left, prepared to sell their lives dearly, and beat off the boats sent to rekindle the flames. Vasco da Gama, says Lopes, looked on through his port-hole, and saw the

¹ Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors*, p. 65.

women bringing up their gold and jewels and holding up their babies to beg for mercy, but there was no mercy". The Portuguese tried to board the vessel but they could not. For eight days and nights they fired into her with their bombards. As they were on the point of giving up the attack in despair a hunch-backed traitor set the ship once more on fire ¹. The anonymous author of the matter-of-fact *Calcoen* estimates the number of victims at 380 men, besides many women and children, and the loot at 12,000 ducats in cash and another 10,000 in goods. ²

Then, concluding a treaty with the Rajah of Chirakkal, the Portuguese admiral proceeded to Calicut. The Zamorin, ignorant of the fiendish cruelty perpetrated by him on the way, sent him messages of peace and goodwill. But da Gama answered them by hanging the messengers like dogs. In this wise he arrived off Calicut on the 29th of October.

The Zamorin again sent an envoy to da Gama, welcoming him to his capital and promising all help. He could not for a moment believe that the Portuguese captain had come to exact reparation for an aggression which had all been on their side. Da Gama had carried off his subjects without his permission; Cabral had bombarded Calicut for a fancied wrong, and had done him a most irreparable injury by encouraging the Cochin Rajah to rebel. Not without reason was the Zamorin dumb-founded when da Gama came out with his terms. Every Moor and Moplah found in Calicut were to be banished. This was a condition which neither honour nor prudence would allow him to comply with. He could not banish five thousand families of Muhammadans who had come to Calicut, no one knows when, who had rendered yeoman service to his kingdom, whose trade had filled his treasury, against whom he had not a single com-

¹ Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 91—92.

² Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors*, p. 86.

plaint. Prudence also counselled in the same direction. The conduct of both da Gama and Cabral proved that what he had at first considered as their peculiar weakness was a deeply rooted national trait. They had been arrogant and avaricious, fickle and faithless, and ready to declare war at the least opposition to their wishes. It was better to have them as foes than as allies. For three days messengers went to and fro. At last, tired of the delay, da Gama sent a twenty-four hours' ultimatum, detaining at the same time the Zamorin's envoy and the fifty or sixty fishermen who had come to sell provisions.

All through the night the Nayars and the Moplahs exerted themselves in strengthening the defences of the city. Pits were dug in the beach; stakes were driven into the sea to prevent the approach of boats; barricades were erected at the most vulnerable points in the streets; to the six guns in the jetty two more were added, and all of them trained on the Portuguese ships, ready for action.

On the 2nd of November, exactly at noon, when the ultimatum expired, da Gama opened fire. He did not make any attempt to land; his object was not to capture the city, which he knew was impossible with the small number of soldiers he had at his command, but to destroy it. The guns in the city made a terrific noise but little impression on the enemy; a ball or two perhaps fell on the Portuguese ships. Their fire, on the other hand, was well-directed and vigorous. The thatched huts of the Mukkuvas on the shore were burnt, and a number of go-downs in the bazaar were damaged. Unfortunately, a fleet of twenty four ships arrived at this time with rice from Mangalore, and da Gama seized all their crew, numbering about 800. Then followed an act resembling that of a fiend rather than of a human being. He "ordered his men to cut off their hands, ears and noses, and a Brahmin, who had gone to him disguised as a friar, was also similarly treated. This done, their feet were tied

together, and in order to prevent them from untying the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with their staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, heaped one upon the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessel set on fire. The friar, with all the hands and the ears that had been cut off, was sent on shore by himself in a small vessel, which was not fired, with a palm leaf letter to the king, telling him to have a curry made to eat of what his friar brought him".¹

Leaving Sodre with six ships to blockade Calicut and cut off its supplies by sea, da Gama set sail for Cochin. There he forced a treaty upon the helpless Rajah, securing the monopoly of its foreign trade to his country, with the right to establish factories wheresoever his king and his officers liked. Then he proceeded to refit his ships and load them for his return voyage.

The inhuman cruelty of da Gama convinced the Zamorin that peace was neither desirable nor possible with his nation. Had Dom Manuel sent some of the best statesmen of his court to handle the delicate negotiations with the princes of the country his ships touched at, instead of entrusting them to such rough soldiers and sailors as da Gama and Cabral, the subsequent history of Kerala would have been altered. What the Zamorin desired was not so much the friendship of the Moors as the prosperity of his kingdom. They held the foremost place in his empire, because they bought the products of the country, and thus brought gold and silver to himself and his people. In his relations with da Gama and Cabral he had shown himself willing to enter into an alliance with them, even though it might cause some heart-burning to the Moors. The Portuguese had only to be a little upright and conciliating, and they could command the Zamo-

¹ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. 1, p. 85.

rin's favour as well as the Moors. In course of time they might even oust their hated rivals. For the Zamorin was deeply interested in navy and artillery, and wanted to raise them to the level of those of the most advanced countries in the world. He would have gladly taken the Portuguese captains and soldiers into his service, as Krishna Deva Raya did at Vijayanagar, and transformed his Nayars, with their wonderful national genius for assimilating new ideas and methods, into one of the finest armies in southern India. But this was not to be. The Portuguese had carried off his subjects, plundered and burnt their ships, bombarded his capital, and encouraged the Cochin Rajah to rebel. Da Gama had "tortured messengers", says Day¹, "executed ambassadors, and his deeds are a blot in the annals of a Christian nation and a disgrace to the name of humanity, over which it would be well could a veil be drawn". The Zamorin determined to expel them from Cochin and "expend his whole kingdom if necessary".

The war with the Portuguese, however, could not be confined to the sea. It would involve operations on land also. For in the course of two years the Portuguese had become one of the powers of Kerala. Unni Goda Varma of Cochin had, in his hatred for his suzerain, allowed himself to be manoeuvred into an unenviable predicament. In extending his hand to Cabral he had placed himself in an impossible situation. By accepting the offer of the crown of Calicut he had incurred the implacable hostility of the Zamorin. He could not abandon the Portuguese alliance lest he should be consumed by the Zamorin's wrath. Da Gama saw the fatal weakness of his position and exploited it to his country's advantage. By the treaty he forced upon him Cochin became virtually a Portuguese dependency.

Fully aware of the losses and miseries which war would bring in its train, the Zamorin tried diplomacy. Clever and able Brahmins were sent to Unni Goda Varma to describe to him

¹ Day, *The Land of the Perumals*, p. 85.

the various deeds of hostility and barbarity perpetrated by his Portuguese allies at Calicut and elsewhere in his empire, and to request him to renounce his 'connexion' with them. They were to represent to him that they had no permanent interest in the country. They employed him as a tool for their own purpose. At a pinch they might take to their ships and bolt, leaving him in the lurch; or being traders they might discard him whenever a more advantageous alliance offered itself. If the Rajah would acknowledge his mistake and return once more to his allegiance, as duty, honour and interest dictated, he would be granted absolute forgiveness for the past and ungrudging friendship for the future. But in an evil moment for Kerala the Cochin Rajah turned a deaf ear to all these counsels; and he retorted in indignant terms that he would not be guilty of such a cowardly and dastardly act as to surrender his new friends and break his plighted word with them ¹

The Brahmins had also instructions to spy out the strength and weakness of the enemy. Talappana was the cleverest among them. He knew how to disarm the suspicion of the Portuguese. He represented to them that he had a great admiration for the religion of Christ, and he was willing to accept it and accompany them to Europe. Nothing pleased them so much as this offer. For he was a Brahmin, and his conversion would be no mean achievement for their religion. They therefore invited him to their ships to teach him the rudiments of their faith. Gradually he warmed himself into their confidence, and at last even da Gama himself asked him to come to his ship.

For the nonce the Namputiri overreached himself. Instead of being content with what he had achieved and withdrawing as soon as he had accomplished his purpose, he went

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 35.

toda Gama's ship with the fond expectation of crowning his mission by hoodwinking the captain himself. But the gods were jealous. Da Gama's mind had already been prepared by Koya Pakki. He had secretly warned him against the vily Brahmin. And he must have been not a little delighted to see him walk into his trap. The unsuspecting Brahmin told him that he was the chief priest of the Zamorin, and he would, if the captain desired, settle the terms of a lasting friendship with the king of Calicut. The captain listened to all these with an inward glee, and when the Namputiri had finished his tale at once ordered him to be tied to a mast and tortured by holding red-hot embers under his shins. In his agony he confessed himself to be a spy. His lips and ears were cut off, and with a pair of dog's ears sewn to his head, he was sent back to Calicut.¹

Diplomacy having failed, the Zamorin prepared for war with Cochin. Da Gama did not like to stay and defend his ally; he wanted to leave the Malabar coast as soon as possible with his cargo. The Cochin Rajah begged him to remain in the country and protect him against the Zamorin. Unni Goda Varma described to him all that had taken place between him and the Calicut envoys. The Zamorin had peremptorily asked him to choose between his friendship and that of the Portuguese. He had replied that what diplomacy could not obtain from him threats could not induce him to yield. Therefore, immediately after his departure, said the Rajah, the Zamorin would invade his kingdom. The Cochin Nayars however could not be trusted; they might receive bribes from the Moplahs and desert to the enemy. He assured the captain that it was not fear that prompted him to say all these; he would do all that lay in his power for the safety of the Portuguese factors. Even the loss of his kingdom was a trifle compared to any harm that might befall his guests.

¹ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 91.

But da Gama's mind had already been made up. He was not only cruel but also selfish and ungrateful. Leaving Sodre with six ships to cruise off the Malabar coast, he left Cochin, on the 9th of December, leaving the Rajah to his fate¹.

A fleet of twenty-nine large ships under Koja Kasim and Kojamber waited at Pantalayini to intercept him in his homeward voyage. He sighted them next day, but knew better than to risk a battle. Ordering Sodre to grapple with them, he escaped to Cannanore under cover of their engagement, and thence sailed away to Portugal.

The Zamorin had already assembled 50,000 Nayers at Ponnani. Before this vast army was set in motion he made yet another attempt to avert the war. He hoped that the departure of da Gama would open the eyes of the Cochin Rajah and make him more conciliatory. He asked him to surrender the Portuguese factors, or if his honour forbade it at least to send them out of Cochin. Public opinion at Cochin supported the Calicut king. "The Portuguese were aliens by birth and arrogant in their behaviour", said the Cochin nobles, "the Rajah had better surrender them to the Zamorin." But Unni Goda Varma rejected all their counsels, and grimly waited for the bursting of the storm.

When the Rajah's defiant reply was received the Zamorin summoned his chief feudatories to a council, and described to them the many injuries the Portuguese had inflicted upon him and his kingdom. He contrasted their conduct with that of the Moors. Thanks to the settlement of the latter Calicut had become the most flourishing city in India. But ever since the Portuguese came there was nothing but loss and disaster. The

¹ *The Kerala-palama*, p. 35.

Cochin Rajah had allied himself with them, and they had encouraged him in his treason. Not a moment was to be lost in punishing the rebel and expelling the aliens. The nobles all expressed their assent, and the Alur Kanikal was ordered to name the auspicious day for the commencement of the enterprise.

On the appointed day the Zamorin started from Ponnani at the head of his army, while the fleet, manned by the Moplahs, set sail for Cochin to blockade it.

THE INVASION OF COCHIN

On the 31st of March the Zamorin arrived at Idappalli and the Calicut ships entered the Cochin backwater. On the 2nd of April he tried to cross the river; but it was not successful. The second attempt made the next day had no better result. The third attempt on the following day was equally futile.

In the meanwhile, the blockade of Cochin brought about a famine in the city. The Calicut spies were also busy inducing the merchants to withhold supplies from the market. It was suspected that some of the Cochin officers, notably the Paymaster of the Forces, were secretly receiving bribes from the Zamorin. Provisions could not be regularly sent to Prince Narayanan, who was defending the ford at Idappalli. And consequently his men began to desert him. Thinned in numbers, the Cochin Prince was not able to withstand the enemy. He crossed the river, and in the battle that took place Narayanan was killed with two of his nephews.¹

Cochin was filled with consternation. The populace clamoured with one voice for the abandonment or the death of the Portuguese, who had been the cause of all these misfortunes. But Unni Goda Varma remained firm, whereupon began a general exodus from the city.

The Zamorin advanced to Cochin. A terrible battle took place under the walls of the palace; the Cochin Rajah was wounded and at last defeated. And he retired to Vaipin with

¹ Thereupon, as required by custom, the Cochin Chaversa, about two hundred in number, started for Calicut on their avenging mission. It is said that they carried on their murderous work, killing and being killed, for five years, till the last of them perished very near Calicut. (Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 95—96.)

his family and European allies. The Zamorin could not molest him there; for it lay within the jurisdiction of the temple of Elamkunnappula, and even the Zamorin dared not violate a temple sanctuary.¹

He made yet another attempt for peace. He offered to restore Cochin if Unni Goda Varn a would give up the Portuguese. But with rare good faith the Cochin Rajah refused to abandon them, and the Zamorin had no other alternative than to continue the war. But as the season was far advanced and the monsoon had begun, active operations were not possible. Blockading Vaipin and leaving a garrison at Cochin, the Zamorin returned to Cranganore with the intention of resuming the campaign after the rains. Before he left Cochin he caused the holy coronation stone to be removed to Idappalli².

The Hindus and the Muslims greeted the triumphant return of their king with feasts and festivals. Special worships and prayers were conducted throughout the temples and mosques of the land. And obsequious astrologers predicted his speedy conquest of Kerala.

¹ See page 48 *supra*.

² Barros gives the following confused account of this stone:—The Chis (Cheras?), who were formerly lords of all the Malabar coast, reduced the whole land into two provinces under two heads, one with all the temporal power with the title of Samoodri and the other with all the spiritual jurisdiction with the title of "Chief Bramene", whose headquarters the Chis located in Cochin, having it for an established custom that all the emperors of Malabar should go and procure the investiture of the empire from the hands of the "Chief Bramene" of Cochin, and for this was placed in that town of Cochin a stone with the obligation that the emperors should be crowned on it. This ceremony was in use for many years when the king of Calicut ... destroyed the land of Cochin on account of the friendship it enjoyed from the Portuguese, took away the stone and placed it in Repelim". (Barros, *The Decadas*, Book V, Chap. XVIII)

But the Zamorin was far too wise to trust himself exclusively to prayers and predictions. He knew that the Portuguese would return, and then there would be war in dead earnest. The bombardment of Calicut by Cabral and da Gama had taught him where his weakness lay. He was woefully deficient in artillery. Among those who deserted from Cochin after the death of Prince Narayanan were two Italian lapidaries, named Maria and Antonio. He took them into his service, and made them marry Moplah women that they might be tempted to stay at Calicut. With their help more than 400 guns were cast, and the Moplahs were taught how to fire them.

The blockade of Vaipin was not complete. Though the surrounding lands were ravaged and the Moplahs guarded the water-ways, loyalty and devotion found means to succour the besieged. Paliyat Acchan kept his master and his small band of faithful followers supplied with provisions. At last, on the 2nd of September, a Portuguese squadron under Francisco Albuquerque appeared off Vaipin. Next day, the Calicut garrison withdrew from Cochin, and its Rajah returned to his capital. Some days later, Affonso and Saldanah came with two more squadrons. For the greater security of the factors they resolved to erect a fortress. In his gratitude Unni Goda Varma was glad to do anything his Portuguese friends desired. They were asked to select the spot, and on the 26th of September the foundation stone of the first Portuguese fort on Indian soil was laid. The Rajah assisted them with men and materials, and thus unwittingly helped them to tighten their grip on his throat. Sindbad was more fortunate with the old man on his shoulders than the Cochin Rajah with the Portuguese fort in his capital.

The Portuguese came earlier than the Zamorin had expected. He was busy with his preparations for the new campaign when they arrived. As he was not ready to expel them from Cochin by force he thought of making them leave the city by

organising a boycott and compelling them to go to other towns for obtaining a cargo. The Portuguese tried to break through it by plundering Kumbalam, Cheruvaippu and Idappalli. But what was got in this way sufficed to load only one ship.

With a shrewdness and grasp of realities characteristic of a merchant, the Portuguese leader, Francisco, resolved to open negotiations with the Zamorin. With a kingdom small in extent and torn by discontent Francisco saw that the Cochin Rajah could not provide him with what they wanted. Cochin was valuable only as a base of operations. With the perpetual harassment of the Calicut fleet, with the Zamorin invading the land every year, and with the Moors carrying on a vigorous propaganda among the merchants in the interior, it was clear that Cochin could not deliver the goods—which was the primary object of their annual voyages, by which the success of the expedition was gauged. Envoys were therefore sent to the Zamorin for arranging the terms of a settlement. He agreed to suspend hostilities and deliver 900 candies of pepper at Cranganore, so that the Portuguese might leave Cochin and he might carry on his campaign against its Rajah.

The Eralapad was sent to Cranganore to make the necessary arrangements for the delivery of pepper. But in the meanwhile, Affonso had made a treaty with the Rajah of Quilon and secured a landing for the ships. The peace with the Zamorin did not now have the same value as it had when it was made. On the pretext that the consignment was long overdue the Portuguese seized a Moplah ship bringing pepper to Cranganore and killed six of its crew. The Zamorin asked for an explanation; but nothing was offered. And the indignant king became more than ever determined to oust them from Cochin.¹

The preparations for the campaign were on a grand scale. All the chief feudatories of the Zamorin accompanied him at the head of their followers. The Rajah of Kottayam with his

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 48.

18,000, Kakkad Kantan Nampati with his 12,000, the Rajah of Bettet with his 4,000, and Kuruva Koil with his 3,000 marched with him. Among the lesser chieftains were Patinhattedam or the Rajah of Cranganore, Idappalli Nampiyatiri, Pappu Kovil of Chaliyam, Venganad Nampiyatri, Vannalasseri Nampati, Parappu Kovil of Parappanangadi, and Mangat Kaymal, who brought in all 12,000 Nayars with them ¹. In addition to this huge army, equipped in the traditional fashion with sword and shield, there were the big guns forged by the Italians.

The fleet consisted of 160 *paraos*, each carrying two guns and other engines devised by Antonio and Maria. Twenty *paraos*, tied together by chains, were sent in advance of the main fleet to sweep the enemy. The sides of the ships were protected against cannon balls by sacks filled with cotton.

News of every plan and movement at Calicut reached Cochin through Koya Pakki and the Portuguese captives, Rodrigo and Raynal, who had fallen in the hands of the Moplahs during their assault on the Portuguese factory at Calicut in 1500 ². Secret and speedy movements and surprise and night attacks were fundamentally opposed to the principles of Nayar strategy. It was their proud boast that they never attacked without giving notice. And they advanced to the attack not at the right moment decided upon by the leader but at the auspicious hour discovered by the astrologer. Affonso Albuquerque wanted to stay and fight the grand army of invasion. But his soldiers were not so bold, and they importuned him to return. A few, numbering a hundred and fifty, half of whom were sick, volunteered to remain under Pacheco. Leaving them with five vessels to defend the fort, Affonso left Cochin on the 31st of January, 1504.

The Zamorin's plan was to cross the backwater at Kumbalam, and proceeding through Pallurutti, turn the Portuguese

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52—53.

² See page 159 *supra*.

fort from the south. On Friday, the 26th of March, he reached Idappalli.

Pacheco showed rare skill and ability in meeting the crisis. The Muslims in the city were terrorised into silent obedience. Their leaders were seized and imprisoned. Ismail Marakkar, the leading wholesale dealer in rice, was cruelly tortured, the hairs on his face being pulled out one by one. Orders were issued forbidding the export of rice. No one was allowed to leave the city, lest news should leak out.

The defence of the city and the fort was entrusted to a picked force of 35 Europeans and 4,500 Nayers led by the Rajah himself. The largest of the five ships which Affonso had left behind him was amply provided with ammunition, and it cruised off the town to prevent any attempt by sea. With the other four ships and 111 Europeans, assisted by 5,000 Nayers under Kantankoru and Perumkoru, Pacheco guarded the Kumbalam ford. He connected three of his vessels by chains and stationed them in the middle of the stream to block its passage.

On Saturday, the 17th of March, the Zamorin arrived at Kumbalam and informed Pacheco of his intention to attack him the next day. In preparation for it a battery or sconce was erected opposite to where Pacheco took his stand, and on that five big guns were placed under the Italians.

At sunrise, the Calicut army advanced and the Calicut fleet entered the backwater. "A fierce engagement ensued, and after a stout resistance by the Portuguese for some hours, a shot from a heavy gun broke the chain that connected the *paraos* and caused four of them to retreat; others were forced to retire, whereupon the attack from that quarter began to flag"¹ The channel was too narrow to allow free and easy movement to the Calicut armada. "The boats of the enemy", says Castaneda², "were very numerous and without order, they hindered

¹ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 106-107.

² Castaneda, *The History of the Conquest of India*, p. 480.

each other, and our fire did prodigious execution among them, several of their *paracs* being torn to pieces and great numbers being killed or wounded, without any hurt on our side." Under cover of this engagement the Nayars tried to force the passage of the ford. But they were mowed down by the Portuguese guns and were compelled to fall back.

If the Zamorin had renewed his attack the next day he might have been more successful. For, though none of the Portuguese vessels had been sunk, they had been virtually put out of action. But the Zamorin waited a week for reinforcements to join him. This gave time to Pacheco to repair and refit his vessels, while at the same time Mangat Kaymal changed sides and joined the Cochin Rajah.

On the 25th of March the Nayars again advanced. To divert the enemy and lessen their resistance at the ford a squadron of seventy ships was sent against Cochin. Pacheco hurried to the rescue of his comrades in the city. In his absence the Zamorin delivered his attack. He had almost won, the Portuguese ships left to guard the channel were riddled with holes and surrounded by the Moplah fleet—when Pacheco returned and retrieved the fortunes of the day. The Calicut fleet withdrew, after having lost 79 ships and 290 men.

On Tuesday, the 27th, the Zamorin made another attempt against Pacheco; it also failed.

Thereupon he changed his tactics. He resolved to send a part of his forces a little way up the river to Valanharu or Panangad. Pacheco's resources were now put to the most severe test. He made this ford impassable by driving sharp stakes into the soft mud at the bottom. This by itself would have been of little avail but for the assistance he received from the topography of the place. Pacheco saw that a simultaneous attack through Kumbalam and Panangad was impossible on account of the state of the water. Panangad could be crossed only at low water and Kumbalam at high water. He made the fullest use of this discovery. With his main defence concentrated at Kum-

balam, he would proceed to Panangad at ebb tide to assist those posted to defend it. When the tide turned the Zamorin's Nayars would retire, and Pacheco would return to Kumbalam to meet the onset of the enemy's ships.

In the rains, again, Pacheco found an unexpected ally. With the beginning of the monsoon disease broke out in the Zamorin's camp. And large numbers died of fever or cholera.

Yet the Zamorin held firmly on, and made four determined attempts, each one more fierce than its predecessor. The last was the boldest and most elaborate in design. Panangad was to be attacked when the tide began to ebb. Advantage was to be taken of the current to destroy Pacheco's fleet at Kumbalam and prevent him from going to the assistance of his men higher up the river. Then at high water the fleet was to transport the main army to Pallurutti.

Eight huge wooden towers were constructed at the suggestion of Khoja Ali of Idapalli at a place between the two fords and filled with inflammable material. When the Nayars advanced at break of day to attack the Portuguese at Panangad these towers were set on fire; and with the outflowing current they floated down to Kumbalam. But Pacheco was already prepared for the emergency. He had placed wooden booms, covered with iron and tin sheets to render them fire-proof, at a short distance higher up from the prows of his ships. They arrested the progress of the burning castles, and the heavy cannonade from the ships brought them down one after another. At the same time the attempt made by land was repulsed.

No further attack was made. The monsoon having set in with all its fury, the Zamorin suspended operations and returned to his kingdom in July with the intention of recommencing the campaign after the rains.

In September Lopo Soares came from Portugal with 14 ships. Negotiations were opened through Koya Pakki and the Portuguese captives. But the Zamorin could not make up his

mind to surrender the Italians. So they broke down, and Soares bombarded Calicut for two days, after which he sailed to Cochin.

There Pacheco informed him of the preparations made by the Zamorin for the coming campaign. A huge army was assembled at Chetwai under the Eralpad, and a fleet of eighty ships was collected at Cranganore under Mayimani Marakkar to transport this army of invasion to Palliport. One night, Pacheco and Soares made a surprise attack on this fleet. Mayimani Marakkar was killed with two of his sons, and his ships were either destroyed or dispersed ¹.

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 63.

THE PORTUGUESE WAR: THE FIRST STAGE

It was the superiority of the Portuguese on the sea that proved the salvation of Cochin. So long as they controlled the narrow backwater that served as a moat the Zamorin was powerless against the city. He therefore resolved to attack them in their own element. He gave orders for the construction of better and bigger ships, and took into his service Portuguese deserters, causing them to teach the secrets of their art to the native craftsmen.

At the same time he sent ambassadors to the Sultans of Egypt, Persia and Guzerat. The Moors had already directed their attention to the Portuguese menace in the Indian Ocean. The Sultan of Egypt threatened to stop the Christian pilgrim traffic to Jerusalem if the Portuguese molested the Moorish traders, and even began to construct a fleet to expel them from the east and make it safe for the Muslims.

The king of Portugal in consequence adopted a more vigorous policy to meet these new developments. He abandoned the system of annual separate voyages, which exposed his factors to the danger of an attack from the Zamorin in the interval between the departure of one fleet and the arrival of another. He resolved to erect fortresses at Anjediva, Cannanore and Cochin, and keep a permanent establishment in India. So he sent Almeida in 1505 as his Viceroy for three years.

Erecting a fortress on the way at Anjediva, he came to Cannanore on October 22. Duarte Barbosa, the factor of the place, informed him that the Rajah could not protect them against the Moors, a fortress was therefore absolutely necessary for their safety, and he had already persuaded the Rajah to grant them a site for the purpose at the head of the bay. Pleased with Barbosa's wisdom and foresight, the Viceroy at once

ordered the construction of a fortress, which was built in five days and named Fort Angelo. Then he left for Cochin which he reached on the 31st.¹

When the Zamorin heard of these events he lost no time in preparing for a war against the Rajah of Chirakkal, who had so readily given his permission to erect a fort in his kingdom. At last, in March 1506, everything was ready for an attack by land and sea. But, through an Italian, named Ludovic Varthema, who was living at Calicut at this time disguised as a Muslim fakir², Almeida was able to know everything that was being done by the Zamorin. So he ordered his son, Lorenzo, to proceed to Cannanore for the assistance of its garrison.

On March 16, the Zamorin's fleet was seen bearing down on Cannanore like a forest of masts. It consisted of two hundred large vessels collected from Ponnani, Calicut, Kappat, Pantalayini and Dharmapattanam. Among the soldiers on board were a number of Turks in glittering red robes. As against this seemingly formidable fleet, Lorenzo had only 11 ships. But his superiority in artillery decided the battle. Individual valour and recklessness were of no avail against equipment and discipline. After two days' fighting the Calicut fleet was scattered.³

But the Zamorin did not give up his project. Circumstances favoured him. A change of succession brought to the *musnad* at Chirakkal a prince more disposed to be friendly to him and hostile to the Europeans. The heavens also seemed to foretell a speedy victory. A grand eclipse of the sun, marked by the fall of meteors and shooting stars, at the beginning of 1507⁴, was interpreted by the servile astrologers of the court as a sign of the impending fall of the Portuguese. An

¹ *The Keralapalama*, pp. 71-72.

² *The Itinerary of Ludovic Varthema*, p. 94.

³ *The Keralapalama*, p. 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

act of atrocious cruelty perpetrated by them gave the Chirakkal prince sufficient cause for reversing the policy of his predecessor.

Ever since 1504 the Portuguese had been insisting upon the Moorish ships obtaining passes from their commandants at Cochin and Cannanore. But these officers did not always issue permits. As their language was not generally known to the Moors they sometimes issued letters of condemnation, desiring the first Portuguese captain to whom they might be shown to destroy the ship with everyone on board.¹ A Cannanore ship was sunk in this way. To prevent discovery the Portuguese captain had the crew sewn up in sails and thrown overboard. But the corpses were washed upon the beach; and one of the bodies was identified as that of the nephew of Mammali Marakkar, the merchant prince of Cannanore.² He complained to the Kolattiri, who at once declared war on the Portuguese.

The Zamorin sent 24 guns and 60,000 men to assist the Chirakkal Rajah to besiege the fortress. The garrison was reduced to the greatest straits, being forced to subsist on cats, rats and lizards. A surprise attack proved abortive on account of the treachery of the Kolattiri's nephew, who managed to inform the defenders in time. At last, on August 27, da Cunha arrived from Europe, and relieved the fort. Once more was demonstrated the ineffectiveness of landpower against an enemy who commanded the sea.

Almeida now embarked on offensive operations against the Zamorin, whose naval base was Ponnapi. Though the harbour was too shallow for the approach of the Portuguese ships and was protected by two fortresses on either side of the entrance with 40 guns and 7,000 men, Almeida resolved to attack the place for the sake of the effect it might create in the minds of friends and foes alike. On November 23, he appeared before it

¹ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 90.

² *The Keralapalama*, pp. 85—93.

with 6,000 Europeans and a handful of Cochin Nayers. The religious feelings of the Moplahs were raised to the highest pitch by their priests. They swore to die as *Sahids* for their religion. Almeida and the *Padres* encouraged their men, who were rather frightened by the prayers and shouts of the enemy, by appealing to their crusading spirit. In the following morning Almeida landed. The fight was stubborn. Lorenzo was wounded. But the earth works were stormed, the guns captured, and the bazaar looted and burnt. The next day the Viceroy proceeded to Cannanore. ¹

In 1508 the Moors were encouraged by the appearance of the Egyptian fleet, consisting of 12 ships, under the command of Mir Hussain. Lorenzo proceeded north to intercept it. The two fleets met off Chaul. The battle lasted two days. On the second day the Egyptians were reinforced by the Turks under Malik Ayaz, the Governor of Guzerat. Lorenzo thought it wise to withdraw. But his ships were caught in the stakes driven by the fishermen into the muddy bottom of the sea. Unwilling or unable to escape in boats he perished with all his men under the well-directed fire of the Egyptians. Among the Portuguese about 140 were killed. The most prominent in the casualty list of the Moors was Mayimama Marakkur, whom the Zamorin had sent as his ambassador to Egypt in 1504.

This victory sent a thrill of joy through the Muhammadan world. It seemed at last the time was come for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean. The fame of Mayimama, Mir Hussain, and Malik Ayaz spread far and wide, and their achievements were extolled in verse and song in every port and town. ²

But the joy was premature. On receipt of the news of the disaster the Viceroy himself took command of the fleet. On the 12th of December 1508, with 1,300 Europeans and 400 Cochin

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 95.

² *Ibid*, p. 98.

Nayars, he sailed for Diu, where Mir Hussain had established his base, to avenge the death of his son and recover the command of the sea.

The opposing fleets met on the 3rd of February 1509. Though Mir Hussain had been reinforced by 300 foists from Calicut he was weakened by the desertion of Malik Ayaz.

"The sea-fight which was to decide whether Egypt or Portugal should rule in Indian waters began about noon, and was long and stubbornly contested. On either side the towering fore and after castles of the galleons and other great fighting craft broke into flame from a multitude of guns—sakers and culverins, hopes and cradles, serpents and camels, falcons and black eagles; every piece had its generic title, and many were also baptized as the fancy of each gun-crew might dictate, often with the name of the master-gunner's patron saint or sweetheart.

"The long-range artillery-duel was only the prelude to more deadly work at close quarters. Favoured by a stern wind the Portuguese ships bore rapidly down on the Egyptians, until they were near enough for the Malabar longbowmen stationed amidships and in the fighting tops to open fire: few matchlocks had yet been imported from Europe. As the hostile vessels came to grips, each manoeuvred for an opportunity to ram her adversary; and where these tactics failed grappling irons were flung, and boarding parties, armed with half-pikes and axes, leaped down from the bows and charged, some calling on Allah to smite the dogs of Christians, others shouting their invocation to St. Vincent of Lisbon or St. Blaise, the guardian of mariners, whose festival it was.

"When it became evident that Mir Hussain's plan had miscarried, the foists ventured forth from the channel in the desperate hope of effecting a diversion. They were manned by warrior Nairs, who had donned all their caste-ornaments and dedicated themselves to death, but courage availed nothing against artillery, and their fragile craft were sunk in batches" ¹.

¹ Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors*, pp. 75-76.

Mir Hussain fled by land. Such of his ships as escaped destruction during the battle were seized and plundered. Among the spoils, it is said, were many books in Italian, Slavonic, French, Spanish and German. And Almeida wreaked his vengeance for the death of his son by hanging the captives from the masts or blowing them up at the cannon's mouth¹.

Almeida's victory was decisive so far as the command of the sea was concerned. The whole coast lay exposed to their raids. And Affonso Albuquerque, who succeeded Almeida in October, resolved to destroy Calicut itself.

He had conceived this idea as early as 1503². But, then he had neither the means nor the authority to do it. Now that he was the head of the empire in the east, he hastened to carry out his project. He invited the enemies of the Zamorin to join him in this grand enterprise. Timoja, however, declined to co-operate as Calicut was too far away. The Cochin Rajah pleaded poverty as an excuse for not taking an active part. Nevertheless, Albuquerque pushed on with his scheme, and sent Brahmin spies to Calicut to foment discontent among the Zamorin's subjects and report on the defences of the city.

Within a fortnight the Brahmins returned with Koya Pakki. They told him that the Zamorin had gone to Chetwai, and his ministers inland to the hills³; the defences of the city were weak; the jetty at Kallayi was defended by a stockade with six bombards; the beach was rendered dangerous for landing by pits dug to catch the unwary; but along the bank of the river stood the fishermen's huts, where a landing could be effected. The Governor then summoned his captains, and ordered them to be ready with all their men to set out on the last day of December.

¹ *The Kerala-palama*, pp. 102—103.

² *The Commentaries of Affonso Albuquerque*, Vol. II, p. 51.

³ *The Kerala-palama*, p. 107.

According to plan, the invading fleet, consisting of 20 ships, besides numerous *paraos* furnished by the Cochin Rajah, carrying 2,000 Europeans, set sail from Cochin on the 31st of December, and anchored off Calicut on the 3rd of January, 1510. Koya Pakki accompanied them to act as their guide through the labyrinths of the city. Taking into account the condition of the coast and of the tides, they decided to land in front of the fishermen's huts, where water was smoothest. Orders were issued by Marshal Coutinho, a cousin of Albuquerque, who, as senior officer in the navy, was in formal command of the expedition, to the effect that the soldiers were all to land at the same time and not to plunder or set fire to the city without his permission.

Next morning, the Portuguese stepped out into the boats which were to take them to the land. But the tide, which had begun to ebb, upset the plans that had been so carefully laid down. In spite of the vigorous efforts of the oarsmen the boats could not reach the chosen point. No order or method could be observed, each party effecting its landing as best as it could. The marshal himself was carried down by the force of the current to where the sea broke roughly, and obliged to land on the sandy beach. Before he could come up with the main body Albuquerque had stormed the jetty. The more impetuous of those who landed first made for the stockade, led by an impulse to capture it. Albuquerque, who knew that man to man the Moplahs were superior to his men, rushed forward to lead them. The bombards were captured and the Moplahs driven into the city.

The marshal was none too pleased with the success of his cousin, for he felt that he had robbed him of his laurels. Not to be outdone by Albuquerque, Coutinho ordered an advance against the palace, though he was tired by the long march through the sandy shore under the sun growing hot every moment, himself overburdened with the weight of his own

arms. The irate marshal swore that he would destroy Calicut before he ate or drank anything. He took the place of honour leading the vanguard, while his cousin brought up the rear.

Burning the Jumma mosque, which stood at the entrance of the city, the Portuguese entered the bazaar. At the sight of a band of half-clad Nayars, accoutred in the usual fashion with sword and shield only, the marshal remarked that he would take the Zamorin's palace with 'nothing but a cane in his hand and a skull cap on his head.

With 200 Nayars who were then on duty the commandant of the palace guard tried to oppose them at the gate. But they were overpowered, and Coutinho and his men entered the "courtyard which contained the houses". The lure of plunder, in spite of all the orders that might be issued against it, proved too strong to be resisted. And the soldiers scattered to help themselves to whatever they could find. Overcome by fatigue, the marshal laid himself down to rest on a large block of stone ¹, and it is said that he even slept for two hours ², unconscious of the danger that was fast coming upon him.

While the soldiers were busy rummaging the rooms, a large body of Nayars entered the palace by the back-door. They attacked the Portuguese, dispersed about the palace in search of loot, and drove them back to the courtyard. The noise and tumult of battle roused the marshal from his slumber, and he tried to rally his men. To divert the attention of the Nayars he set fire to the palace. It did not, however, save him. The Nayars closed in on him, and a desperate fight ensued.

Just then Albuquerque came up with the rearguard, and opened fire on the Nayars with the small field gun he had brought with him. But this was powerless to stop those who rushed on him. The contest was keen. Many were killed or wounded. At the same time the Nayars seemed to increase in

¹ *The Commentaries of Affonso Albuquerque*, Vol. II, p. 70.

² *The Kerala-palma*, p. 109.

numbers every moment. Albuquerque's eye took in the situation at a single glance; it was impossible to retrieve the fortunes of the day or to save the marshal. To preserve the safety of the men under his command, he ordered them to retire to the ships by the most direct route.

Every semblance of order was lost. The retreat became a rout. The Portuguese did not even once look behind. From the shelter of the embankments and stockades the Nayars threw stones and hand-darts on the fleeing crowd. Albuquerque himself was wounded. "To him", writes his son ¹, "they gave a lance-thrust with a short lance from the top of the palisade in the left shoulder which made him fall down". He had but a narrow escape, his flag-bearer and captain were killed. Even the advance of the reserve which he had wisely kept at the jetty could not inspire courage in the minds of the flying fugitives. Their one thought was to save their skin. "Our men", says Albuquerque ², "were so thoroughly beside themselves that on reaching the beach they threw their arms and got into the water, intending to take refuge in the boats".

Meanwhile, in the palace, Coutinho and his men were cut down. Overwhelmed on all sides, they were like rats caught in a trap. The marshal died fighting. Those who were still scattered about the rooms, unaware of the fate that had overcome their comrades, were sought out and killed, while, many, cut off from the rest, perished in the flames which they themselves had kindled.

Next day, Albuquerque sailed for Cochin. According to the Portuguese accounts, the Nayars lost in killed over a thousand, including the Kutwal and the two nobles who died at the entrance, while their own loss did not exceed eighty, including the marshal and ten or twelve of their principal men. ³ The

¹ *The Commentaries of Affonso Albuquerque*, Vol. II, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

circumstances of the fight and the flight, however, bring the Muhamadan historian's estimate nearer the truth. According to him, five hundred Portuguese were killed in fighting and a great number were drowned ¹.

The discomfited Governor swore vengeance. As soon as he reached Cochin he sent an envoy to Krishna Deva Raya of Vijaynagar ² to solicit his help against the Zamorin ³. Among the trophies were the standards of the marshal and the Governor and nearly all the arms offensive as well as defensive of the vanquished.

If the Zamorin had failed at Cochin in 1504, the Portuguese were not now more successful at Calicut. If land-power without the co-operation of sea-power had been ineffective, sea-power without the support of land-power was equally futile. The combatants must change their tactics if any decisive results were to be achieved. And it was exactly what the Zamorin did. He was inferior to his enemies in organisation and artillery. But he had one advantage over them; his ships were lighter and faster, he controlled the entire coast-line from Pantalayini to Chetwai, and his seamen knew every creek and bay. Though the Portuguese might command the open sea they were power-

¹ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 98.

² Anagundi Krishna Rayar of the *Keralolpatti*. See page 54 *supra*.

³ The envoy was instructed to inform "him that its (of Calicut) palaces and the city itself had been all burnt, and the inhabitants put to the sword, and all its artillery captured, and that the Zamorin did not venture to succour the city, but kept himself aloof in the hill-country, which is over against Calicut and on the borders of his kingdom, until he knew that we had withdrawn from the place." (*The Commentaries of Affonso Albuquerque*, Vol. II, p. 75.)

This may be taken as a fair specimen of how the Portuguese manufactured history against the Zamorin.

less against the country craft when once it had gained the shelter of some river-mouth. He therefore avoided pitched battles, and began a sort of guerilla warfare on the sea, which impeded their commerce and navigation.

How effective this was we have the testimony of Albuquerque himself to prove. "He had now," says he ¹, "had 60 *caturis* made in his land, and as the ships of Cochin enter they sally out, endeavouring to capture them. Calicut greatly oppressed us with them, because the factor of Cannanore did not dare to send coir or supplies in *paqueres* and *paraos* to Cochin for fear of being captured. The Calicut men would watch on the mountain heights, and any *atalaya* or *parao* they see coming, they at once pounce upon "

He realised that with the limited resources at his command and the new tactics employed by the Zamorin it was impossible to reduce his power by open war or a blockade. "If your wish is to destroy it by stern war", he wrote to his king², "it will require a fleet always in occupation on her, and the fleet of India is not so large that it can be divided into two squadrons." Calicut could not be starved into surrender, "because there is much rice in the land, Dharmapattanam and Cannanore will always supply it in large quantities, and this cannot be stopped except by stopping the navigation of Cannanore. Moreover, when your vessels which sail round Calicut are small and furnished with few hands, they (the Calicut people) rise against them, and some are in the risk of being taken. When they escape this danger, they would withdraw outside. They launch their ships into the sea and load them; and your caravels and small vessels do not dare to send out their boats, while they have a hundred *paraos* laden with merchandise around one ship and freight her in two hours, and with the right wind the ship goes the round of the sea, and your vessels

¹ Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

remain at anchor. One goes out of Pennani, another from Pandarini, some others from Cranganore and others from Chalea, while others depart from Dharmapattanam with safe-conducts issued from Cannanore. They have always done navigation and will continue unless you have those ports occupied with some very good ships and some rowing vessels to be close upon the shore."

The advantages of ending the war with the Zamorin and making peace with him were two-fold. It would weaken Cairo and Venice; it might also secure the exclusion of the Moors from its trade. "It is the hostility Calicut to us", wrote he ¹, "that makes Venezia so confident of all things of India and put such trust in her former trade; and it is that which makes Cairo equip fleets trusting to eject your ships and men out of India. As long as Calicut continues in its present state, so long will Cairo and Venezia continue to foster their project. I do not see what advantage can accrue from the war of Calicut since you do not conquer it. I should state more; if what you wish is to stop her commerce with Mecca you could better effect it by peace than by warfare; I can also obtain all the ginger of Calicut and I will obstruct all their navigation with Mecca".

So he opened negotiations with the Zamorin in 1512. He came to Cranganore to see the Eralpad and arrange the preliminaries of a peace. There were, however, many obstacles. The Moors were of course against it. The Zamorin's mother and sister, who listened to the arguments of Sahabantha Koya, were also on their side. The enemies of the Governor at the Cochin settlement strove to prevent the conclusion of a treaty by instigating the Cochin Rajah to invade the Zamorin's kingdom, so that Albuquerque also might be dragged into hostilities along with

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

him. The Zamorin himself fell ill and died in August 1513.¹ His successor, who had met him at Cranganore, did not allow the Koya and his powerful allies at the palace to influence him. Albuquerque himself paid a visit to Calicut. And a treaty was at last concluded on December 24, 1513.

Its terms were ²:—

(1) Coral, silk-stuffs, quicksilver, vermilion, copper, lead, saffron, alum and all other merchandise from Portugal should be sold only in the port and the Portuguese factory.

(2) The Zamorin should supply the Portuguese with all the spices and drugs his land produced for the purpose of export at the Cochin price, except pepper which must be sold at the Cannanore price. At the same time, the Portuguese were to be allowed to buy ginger direct from the cultivator.

(3) The Moors, however, should be allowed to load annually four ships for Mecca and the Red sea.

(4) The Portuguese should pay the usual duty on the goods they bought (including horses and elephants), and the

¹ Albuquerque was prepared to do anything to hasten the conclusion of the peace. Thinking that it was the Zamorin who opposed it, he even went to the length of requesting the Eralapad to poison him, and attributed the Zamorin's death to it. "I hold it for certain," he wrote to his king, "that the Nampiadiri slew the Zamorin with poison, because in all my letters I bid him to kill the Zamorin with poison, and that in a peace treaty I will come to an agreement with him."

(Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 81.)

The Zamorin died a natural death. Albuquerque's boast that he induced the Eralapad to poison him has absolutely no foundation whatever.

² Danvers, *The History of the Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, p. 284,

Zeinuddin, *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 111,

Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 86.

purchasers of their merchandise should pay the usual duty on the goods sold to them.

(5) The Portuguese factor was not to buy merchandise except in the presence of the Zamorin's clerk, so that the Zamorin's dues might be collected.

(6) The Portuguese captain at Calicut should issue passports to all vessels calling at Calicut except those from Cochin and Cannanore.

(7) Natives guilty of crime against the Portuguese and *vice versa* were to be tried by their respective tribunals.

(8) The Portuguese were to help the Zamorin in his wars, provided they were not against Cochin or Cannanore.

(9) The Portuguese were allowed to pay for all their purchases in kind, but the duties thereon must be paid in cash.

(10) Lastly, the Zamorin should allow the Portuguese to build a fort at Calicut.

This treaty is a testimony to the power and wisdom of the Zamorin. While it proves that his strength was still unimpaired and that he had been able to keep the Portuguese at bay, it also recognises the changes that had taken place in the trade of the Indian Ocean. The warfare of the last ten years had made it abundantly clear that the Muhammadans could not hold their own in the sea against the Portuguese, and their monopoly of the eastern trade was fast slipping away from their hands. The Zamorin had been protecting the Muhammadans because they had been furthering the trade of his kingdom. And as they were now losing ground everyday, wisdom dictated that he should make an agreement with those who were ousting them. As the Portuguese had promised to take all the products of his country there was no danger of their remaining unsold. And while he made sure that his exports to Europe would not suffer he also fully secured his

trade with Egypt and Arabia by the stipulation for sending four ships to the Red sea every year. Further, no distinction was made between the Portuguese and the native merchants in the matter of duties. And by providing for these duties to be paid in cash he ensured a regular stream of money to his treasury. Taking all these circumstances into consideration it is impossible to say what more the Zamorin could have demanded to secure his power or interests. Objection might be taken to the permission given for the construction of a fortress. But, as the events would show, the Zamorin was strong enough to destroy it when it became a source of danger.

THE PORTUGUESE WAR : THE SECOND STAGE

The Portuguese built their fort on the right bank of the Kallayi river at the southern end of the town, close to the old jetty stormed by Albuquerque in 1510. In shape and size it was exactly like the Cochin fort. On the sea-side there were two towers, and the wall connecting them was pierced by a wicket gate so that the garrison might have easy and uninterrupted communication with the sea. The keep had three storeys. On the land-side also there were two towers, and between them was the principal entrance of the fort, defended by a bastion ¹.

To cement the newly established friendship the Zamorin sent two envoys to the king of Portugal with a letter expressing his readiness to supply timber and other materials for ship-building².

But for the fact that the new Zamorin (1513-1522) saw that his best interests lay in peace, not in war, this treaty would not have survived the death of Albuquerque in 1515. For his successors sorely tried his patience. Lopo Soares, for example, demanded that the Zamorin should repair to the Portuguese fort and wait upon him. Hostilities were averted only by the good sense of the Portuguese captains, who refused to draw their sword in such a silly and unjust cause ³.

On another occasion, in 1517, they tried to kill the Zamorin by treachery. "They invited him, "says Zeinuddin, ⁴" to a house within their fort under the pretext of presenting him

¹ The site of this fort had disappeared under the sea by the time of Hamilton's visit in 1703. (*A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 319.)

² *The Keralapalama*, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁴ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, pp. 113-114.

with some valuable gifts, said to have been sent for his acceptance by the Viceroy of the Europeans; but their intention was the seizure of his person. The Zamorin, however, seeing through this stratagem, by means of a sign made by a certain Frank, escaped from amongst them, and was delivered out of their snare by the will of God Most High; and in consequence of his escape the Franks expelled from their society him of their number, who in saving the Zamorin had betrayed their purpose, banishing him with all his relations to Cannanore."

The Cochin Rajah left no stone unturned to bring about a war between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. In 1519 he induced one of his nobles to invade the territories belonging to one of the Zamorin's feudatories¹. This led to a general war, and the Cochin Rajah suffered a disastrous defeat. He appealed to Sequeira, the new Governor, to help him, representing to him that the custom of the country required that he should avenge the death of Prince Narayansan and his nephews at Idappalli in 1503 by killing an equal number of the princes belonging to Nediyruppu, and he should destroy Calicut even as the Zamorin had destroyed Cochin. Sequeira sent 36 men to assist him, and the Cochin Rajah invaded Chetwai in 1521. But he was outnumbered, and pursued right up to his capital.² Though defeated in battle, the Rajah had achieved his object of alienating the Zamorin from the Portuguese.

On the sea an unofficial war had already broken out. For as soon as the Portuguese completed the building of their fortress they forbade the Moors to export ginger and pepper, and seized every Moorish ship that had these articles on board³. They did not also honour their own passports. They levied taxes, tributes and presents at their pleasure. What was not willingly given was taken by force⁴.

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 112.

⁴ *The Keralapalama*, pp. 164-165.

Thereupon the Moors began to retaliate. In 1523 they captured ten Portuguese vessels, and raided the Cochin harbour. They followed this up by an attack on Cranganore.¹ In Kutti Ali of Tanur they had a capable leader in this war of reprisal. In 1524 he collected a fleet of 200 ships and bombarded the Portuguese fort at Calicut.

The death of the Zamorin who concluded the peace of 1513 brought matters to a head. The new Zamorin (1522-1531) was less friendly towards the Portuguese than his predecessor. The Moors were not slow to take advantage of this. In 1523 they insulted the Portuguese Governor, Duarte Meneses,² and in 1524 an open fight took place in the bazaar between them and the Portuguese soldiers.³ The crazy Lima, the commandant of the fortress, who took every Moplah for an assassin aiming at his life, submitted exaggerated reports of their hostility, and helped to precipitate the crisis.⁴

At this juncture Vasco da Gama arrived at Goa, as Viceroy. In September he sent D'Souza with 300 men to assist Lima. He cleared the sea of the hostile fleet, and da Gama came to Cochin to adopt more vigorous measures against the Zamorin.

But he died on December 24, and Henry Meneses succeeded him. With 50 ships, including 19 grabs furnished by the Purakkad Atikal, he appeared off Ponnani on February 25, 1525. The defences of the port had been repaired and strengthened after Almeida's attack. Meneses sent some soldiers to the shore for water and provisions. But they were set upon and driven back. Next morning, the Portuguese landed in force, and a fierce engagement took place. Thirty-eight ships belonging to Chionna Kutti Ali were burnt; a large number of

¹ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, pp. 117-119.

² *The Keralapalama*, p. 166.

³ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, 117.

⁴ Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 204.

Moplahs were killed ; the cocoanut trees on either bank of the river were cut down by the Cochin Nayars, and houses, shops and mosques were all destroyed. ¹

Then he proceeded to Pantalayini, which he reached at sunset on March 1. It was defended by three bastions on a steep hill, held by 20,000 men, while the mouth of the river, which formed the harbour, was guarded by 150 ships. Against the advice of his captains Meneses attacked the place early next morning. After a stubborn fight the Moplahs gave way, the bastions were stormed, and the town was sacked. The Portuguese carried off 250 pieces of cannon and vast quantities of ammunition, besides spices which provided lading for forty ships ².

Not content with these, Meneses resolved to blockade Calicut, and starve the Zamorin into submission. For this purpose he told off 4 ships to patrol the coast, and cut off the the rice ships from Mangalore and other places. But the Zamorin sent a fleet, at the sight of which the Portuguese ships sailed away to Cochin. Though able to raise the blockade, the Moplah ships could not, however, keep their enemies confined to their ports, and prevent them from reinforcing Lima and supplying him with provisions.

Towards the end of April Tinayancheri Elayutu and the Kurumbiyatiri invested the fort by land with 12,000 Nayars. ³ The artillery was placed under the command of a skilled Sicilian engineer, who had been taken captive by the Turks at the siege of Rhodes in 1522, and who had since then purchased his freedom by becoming a Mussalman. He threw up trenches and placed guns in Vannattanparampa, south of the fort, and in the streets of Chinakkotta. The Portuguese abandoned all their outlying ware-houses, and retired to the protection of their fort.

¹ *The Kerala-pala ma*, p. 175.

² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

³ *The Kerulolpatti*, p. 99.

The fort was defended by a small but determined garrison of 300 men under Lima. He had water and rice for one year but curry stuffs and oil for only one month.

On the 13th of June the Zamorin himself came to Calicut to direct the siege in person. It became more rigorous. Wooden castles were erected and filled with musketeers; at the same time, huge mantlets concealed and protected the miners at work. To prevent supplies reaching by sea the Nayars occupied the strip of shore in front of the fort.

Lima sent a messenger to Cochin imploring help. Although the monsoon was blowing with all its fury, the messenger braved all the risks of a voyage in this season, and reached Cochin on the 10th of July. Meneses made an appeal for volunteers. A hundred and forty responded to the call. They started in two ships under the command of Josburte, and appeared off Calicut after 25 days. Though Lima signalled to Josburte that it was not opportune to make a landing, the latter made for land with thirty-five men in a boat, and succeeded in reaching it, thanks to the timely sortie from the fort. Their arrival did not, however, brighten the hopes of the besieged. Lima tied a letter to an arrow and shot it out to the ships, informing those on board that no force short of 500 would suffice, and food and ammunition should be sent immediately.

The Zamorin spared no efforts to capture the fort before reinforcements arrived. The Sicilian engineer constructed a mine, but a Portuguese prisoner managed to convey information to the besieged by means of a song. A counter mine was sunk, and the miners were caught and killed.

One stormy night, at the end of August, boats arrived from Cochin and landed ammunition, bread, salted meat and other provisions, and in the morning, Lima, out of bravado, scaled the rampart, chucked some bundles of fresh betel leaf to the enemy, and proceeded to show them that he had both bread and meat by eating them in full view of the besiegers.

On the 15th of October Meneses himself came with 20 ships. The shore was so strongly guarded that he dared not come near. For fifteen days he remained undecided. At last, he sent Antonio da Silveira with 400 men to cut his way to the fort and concert measures with Lima for the landing of his huge relieving force. On the 31st a joint attack was made from the sea and fort; 2,000 of the besiegers were killed, including the Sicilian engineer; the sea-side of the fortress was cleared; and Meneses landed with all pomp and ceremony.

But he had already determined to abandon Calicut. For, it had become abundantly clear to him that the fortress could not be held against the Zamorin. On the pretext that the Turks were equipping an expedition to the east and they could not, therefore, afford to fritter away their strength he ordered the garrison to march to the ships. The last man to leave the fort set fire to a train of gunpowder, and it was reduced to a heap of ruins.¹

Once more the Portuguese were foiled by the Zamorin. Their losses were great. "The income from *cartas* alone was 1,500 cruzados every year. That, together with the very profitable trade that was carried on, was lost to the Portuguese."²

Further, the Moors became bolder and adopted an aggressive policy. Pattu Marakkar, assisted by the Purakkad Atikal, seized and sank every Portuguese ship he happened to come across. Their trade was paralysed. None of their ships would venture out in the open sea without proper convoy. There was only one remedy, which was to induce the sea-rovers to fight a pitched battle. But the Moors had learnt wisdom by experience. They carefully avoided a collision with the enemy. Whenever the enemy

¹ *The Keralapaluma*, pp. 170—185.

Logan, *Malabar Manual*, pp. 326—328,

Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese* pp. 110—111.

² Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 111.

ships were sighted beacon fires were lighted on hill-tops to warn the country craft of the approach of the enemy, and they at once ran to the shelter of the nearest river-mouth into which the Portuguese dared not pursue them. So with all his efforts the enterprising Meneses was able to accomplish little more than burn a few *paraos* and huts at Chaliyam¹ before he died in February 1526.

His successor, Lopo Vaz da Sampayo, had better luck. His first act was to proceed against Kutti Ali. This enterprising leader had taken to the more profitable course of sending merchandise to the ports of Persia, Arabia and Egypt in defiance of the Portuguese ships, instead of to commerce-destruction like Pattu Marakkar and the chief of Purakkad. The new Governor attacked him at Bacanore and destroyed his fleet.

In March 1528, the Portuguese obtained another victory. Lopo Vaz came upon Chinna Kutti Ali and his sixty ships between Mangalore and Mt. Eli. The Portuguese captain, D'Esa, boarded Chinna Kutti Ali's ship, and captured him. He was released for a ransom of 500 *Pantalicoons*; but before he was set free he was compelled to swear on the Koran that he would not fight against them.²

In Kutti Ali Haji of Dharmapattanam the Moors found another leader. He imitated Pattu Marakkar, and harassed the Portuguese whenever they appeared between Pantalayini and Mangalore.

At the same time their blockade of Chetwai ended in disaster. For a storm drove their ships ashore and wrecked them. The Moplahs at once seized the wrecks and made short work of the survivors.

Da Cunha, who succeeded Lopo Vaz in 1529, changed his policy. Realising the futility of war, he made peace with the Zamorin, and tried to gain by intrigues what he could not obtain by force.

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

The Rajahs of Bettet, Beypore and Chaliyam did not like the Cochin policy of the Zamorin, for they belonged to the same caste as the Cochin Rajah. The reverses of the Zamorin in 1503 even turned the head of Bettet for a moment, and he conceived the idea of establishing his independence by following the example of Unni Goda Varma. In 1504 he invited the Portuguese to his kingdom, and a small Portuguese force actually came to Bettem ¹. But the Rajah was not bold enough for an open defiance, and he sent his new allies back with numerous presents and a promise of secret support. In 1528, when a Portuguese ship was wrecked off his coast, he gave shelter to the crew, and refused to surrender them to the Zamorin. Da Cunha thought to avail himself of the disaffection of these Kshatriya vassals of the Zamorin. A fort near Ponnani or Chaliyam, he considered, would enable him to curb his activities. So he sent envoys to Bettet, who gladly allowed him to erect a fort on the north bank of the river opposite Ponnani. But the ships which were bringing the building materials from Cochin were destroyed by a storm while they were negotiating the river-mouth ².

The attempt to erect a fortress at Tanur having failed, the Portuguese turned to Chaliyam. Situated on the road to Ponnani and Cochin, a fortress there would enable them to threaten the Zamorin's communications. Its Rajah, named Unni Rama, listened to the secret overtures made through the Rajah of Bettet. None of them, however, dared openly defy their suzerain, the Zamorin. The Portuguese sent one of their ablest men, "one who was master of the greatest subtlety and cunning, and capable of employing the deepest stratagems," ³ to obtain his consent. As his finances were running short he allowed them to erect a fort at Chaliyam, provided they paid him half the customs duties on the traffic that passed through the river.

¹ *The Keralapalama*, p. 64.

² *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* pp. 124-125.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

The Portuguese were as usual high-handed in their methods. "They constructed," says Zeinuddin,¹ "fortifications of solidity and strength; and throwing the ancient Jamie mosque, which had been erected there on the first introduction of Islamism in Malabar, they took the stones which had composed this building as material for their fort, to which they also added a church." To the remonstrances of the Muhammadans the Portuguese Governor replied: "The Ray of the Town to which they belonged had sold to the Franks both the mosque and the ground on which it stood". "In addition to this", goes on the Shiek, "wicked men demolished the tombs of the Moslems, and carried off the stones of which they had been built to complete their fortress."

In 1531 a new Zamorin came to the *Stanam*. The Muhammadans appealed to him. The Rajah of Chaliyam made peace by an unconditional submission. But the Rajah of Bettet prevaricated, and, relying upon the support of the Portuguese, he even tried to defy his overlord.² So, in 1538, the Zamorin sent an army against him, and compelled him to atone for his conduct by surrendering all his lands in the neighbourhood of Ponnani and his island near Chaliyam.

In 1534 Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat sent Khoja Hussain to the Zamorin to ask for his co-operation against the Portuguese. But he was not willing to draw his sword against them just then, as they had not committed any overt act of hostility.

But it was not long before they drew him into a conflict. In 1536 they assisted the Cochin Rajah to recover the Sacred Stone, which he had removed from Cochin to Idappalli in 1503.³ Thereupon he took the field at the head of his forces. But the monsoon compelled him to withdraw. On his retire-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

² This Rajah embraced Christianity and went to Goa. (*Ibid.*, p. 134.)

³ Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, d. 252. See also page 172 *supra*.

ment the Portuguese erected a fort at Cranganore, "the chief route and entrance by which the Zamorin went to Repelim".¹ But when he resumed his campaign at the end of the monsoon, they requested the Rajahs of Bettet and Cranganore to intercede with him on their behalf.

At last a treaty was signed at Ponnani on January 1, 1540. The Portuguese were to buy all the Calicut pepper at the Cochin rate and ginger at 92 Fanams per *bahar*, and allow the Zamorin to send $3\frac{1}{2}$ *bahars* of pepper to Portugal on his own account for every 100 *bahars* bought by them. Further, they agreed to sell part of their merchandise at Calicut, so that he might have his customary dues on imports, and to provide him with quicksilver, vermilion and coal. The treaty bound them also to neutrality even if he attacked their allies. In return he agreed to accept their passports for the Moorish vessels.

Thus it is clear that the Zamorin had lost nothing by the long war which he had been waging with the Portuguese. He was able to secure not only all the commercial advantages which he had obtained by the treaty of 1513 but also their neutrality in his wars against the Cochin Rajah. On the other hand, the abandonment of their ally and portege, the Cochin Rajah, was a tacit admission on their part of the decline of their own power and prestige.

This peace lasted but ten years; in 1550 war broke out. A dispute between the Rajahs of Pimenta and Cochin led the Portuguese to interfere on behalf of the latter. In the very first engagement that took place the Rajah of Pimenta was slain. This prince was not only a feudatory of the Zamorin but had been actually adopted in his family². So he declared war on

¹ Correa, *Lendas de India*, Vol. V.

² "The Zamorin made him fourth in the line of succession, according to the custom which had existed among the people of Malabar".

Cochin, and, accompanied by no less than eighteen of his vassal chieftains, among whom were the chiefs of Purakkad, Udiyanperur, Mangat, Kavalappara, Venganad, Bettet and Kurumbrana^d, he proceeded to Bardela. The war proved specially fatal to the Cochin family. Three Rajahs fell in battle one after another; in 1561 the *Chavers* of Pimenta killed the Rajah who was responsible for the death of their chief¹; on January 27, 1565 his successor and two of his nephews fell fighting; within a fortnight the new Rajah also was slain in battle at Pudia-kavu².

Even before hostilities broke out on land, the Portuguese and the Moors had come into conflict on the sea. The former did not honour the safe-conducts issued by their own officers and seized every Moerish vessel that came their way. With a refinement of cruelty, worthy of Mihirakula the Hun, they bound the crew with ropes, or tied them up in nets, or cut off their hands and legs, and cast their 'unfortunate victims into the sea to witness their last agonies. When formal war broke out they attacked and plundered, whenever opportunity offered, Pantalayini, Tikkoti, Ponnani and Chetwai.

In 1569 envoys came to the Zamorin from Adil Shah of Bijapur and Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar³, seeking his assistance in a joint enterprise against the Portuguese in the west coast. It was agreed that Adil Shah should attack Goa, Nizam Shah should march on Chaul and the Zamorin should proceed

¹ Towards the end of April 1550, the King of Pimenta, having undergone the ceremonies of adoption by the Zamorin of Calicut, returned to his kingdom, and took his residence at Bardela'. (De Couto, *The Decadas*, Book VIII, Chap. VIII).

² Padmanabha Menon, *The History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 378.

³ Day, *The Land of the Perumals*, pp. 59-60.

⁴ *The Tohfut-ut Mujahideen*, pp. 162-163.

against Chaliyam. In pursuance of this treaty the Zamorin invested Chaliyam. Sbeik Zeinuddin thus describes the siege:—¹

“He sent against this fortress certain of his ministers in command over the Muhammadan inhabitants of Funan, who were assisted by bodies of the people of the town of Shaleeat, and who, during their advance, persuaded the people of Pumoor, Tanoor, and Pupoorangar to join them. The Mahomedans entering Shaleeat on the night of the 14th or the 15th day of Sufur (July) in the year 979 (A. D. 1571), a battle took place between them and the Franks at the break of the following day, during which the Mahomedans burnt the houses belonging to the Franks that were without the fort and their churches also, demolishing at the same time their outer works of mud. Of the Mahomedans three only found martyrdom in this affair, whilst a large body of the Franks were slain, who after this, retreated to their citadel of stone and took refuge in it; but the Mahomedans with the Nair troops of the Zamorin surrounded it (whilst the faithful from all the countries around hastened to engage in this holy warfare), and throwing up trenches around it, blockaded it with the greatest vigilance, so that no provision could reach the besieged excepting by chance. In carrying on this siege the Zamorin expended a vast sum of money; about two months after its commencement he himself came from Funan to conduct it; and with such extreme vigour and activity did he pursue his measures, intercepting all supplies, that the stock of provisions of the Franks became entirely exhausted, and they were compelled to devour dogs and to feed on animals of a similar vile and impure nature. In consequence of this scarcity there came out of the fort every day large bodies of their servants and proselytes, both male and female, who were not molested by the besiegers, but had a safe passage granted to them. Now, although the Franks sent supplies to their countrymen shut up in Shaleeat from Cochin and Cannanore, yet these never reached them, their convoys

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167—169.

having been attacked and destroyed. During the blockade the besieged sent messengers to the Zamorin offering to capitulate and deliver up to him certain large pieces of cannon, which were in the fort, and also to indemnify him for the expenses of the war, besides some other concessions. But he refused to consent to these terms, although his ministers were satisfied with them. Shortly after, when the Franks perceived their condition desperate from the failure of their provisions, they sent messengers to the Zamorin offering to deliver up the fort with its arsenal and all its cannon, provided that a safe passage was afforded them and protection for their personal property guaranteed; and he consenting to these terms, the garrison marched out at midnight on the 10th of Jumadie-Alakhur, safe egress being afforded them; they were shortly afterwards sent away (greatly dispirited) with the Ray of Tanoor, who had leagued with and abetted them, being indeed secretly favourable to their cause, although ostensibly supporting the Zamorin; and this chief, having provided them with all necessaries, conducted them to the Tanoor country, where galliots, sent from Cochin, conveyed them to that city, where they arrived in safety, but much disheartened and cast down. Now all that befell them was in retribution of their evil deeds. Shortly after, the Zamorin, having taken possession of the ordnance and stores contained in this fort, demolished it entirely, leaving not one stone upon another." ¹

¹ The following verse in Malayalam commemorates this event :—

കൊല്ലം കേരള മന്ത്രാധികാരിനാഥൻ ഏകാമതിൽ ഭാനുമാൻ
 വെല്ലും വൃശ്ചികമാസി പഞ്ചമിദിനേ ഭക്താരി കൈക്കൊണ്ടനാര
 കല്യം മാനുഷ രാക്ഷസപ്പട്ട തിമർത്താലിയക്കൊട്ടകൊ
 ഞെല്ലാക്കും മമ മാനവിക്രമമുപൻ കല്യാണമേകീടിനാൻ.

"On Tiruvatira or the sixth asterism, which happened to be the fifth lunar day, in the month of Vrischika (November-December) in the year 747 M. E. (1671 A. D.) King

"With their expulsion," observes Mr. Panikkar ¹, "it may be said that the Portuguese effort to control Malabar came to an end. Seventy years of conflict had come to nothing, and the victory in this prolonged conflict lay decisively with the Ruler of Calicut."

Manavikrama defeated the Rakshasa army, occupied the Chaliyam fort, and thus conferred prosperity on all."

¹ Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, pp. 134—135.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese did not immediately abandon the struggle. They raided Chaliyam in 1572 and Parappanangadi in 1573. In 1577 they seized 50 Moorish vessels bringing rice from Mangalore to Calicut. So, when the envoy of Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur, came in 1578 to offer his felicitations to the new Zamorin (1578-1588), the ruler of Calicut renewed the old alliance for a war against them.

The Portuguese were frightened, and their ambassadors waited upon him at Cranganore, whither he had gone to celebrate the Bharani festival. They promised to put a stop to their maritime warfare if he would give his consent for erecting a fort at Ponnani. But he was not willing to comply with their request, though he had no objection to their having a fort at Calicut. The bitter experience of 1525 induced them, however, to reject this offer, and the negotiations fell through ¹.

To show that they were not absolutely impotent on land the Portuguese persuaded the Cochin Rajah to make an attack on the Zamorin's stronghold at Cranganore. But the attempt failed, and soon afterwards differences arose between them and the Cochin Rajah. So, in 1584, once more they approached the Zamorin. This time they were more lucky. He allowed them to have a factory, instead of a fort, at Ponnani, obtaining in return the right of navigation for the Moors to the ports of Guzerat, Persia and Arabia².

In 1588 a new Zamorin came to the *musnad*. He ruled till 1597. He was more friendly towards them than his predecessor. He allowed them to settle at Calicut. In 1591 he himself laid the foundation of their church, for which he freely

¹ *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, pp. 172-176.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

granted them not only the site but also the building materials. It is said that he even gave them land for maintaining a perpetual lamp in honour of the Virgin.

The Frenchman, Pyrard de Laval, who visited Calicut a few years later, testifies, not without some jealousy, to the great influence and the valuable privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Fathers. "There reside", says he, "two Jesuit Fathers, the one an Italian, the other a Portuguese, who are well received of the king, and get from him a pension of a hundred crowns a year. They have built near the seashore a very large and handsome church, on ground presented by the king; and they have the king's leave and license to convert the people to Christianity so long as they use no constraint These Jesuit Fathers have the ear of the king, who likes them much; and they take great care to do nothing displeasing to him. They go often to the palace of the king to treat of affairs."¹

The Portuguese did not lose anything by the accession of a new Zamorin (1597—1599). He joined them in a war against Kunhali Marakkar of Kottakkal². It may appear

¹ *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, p. 406.

² The original seat of the Marakkar family was Ponnani. In course of time they spread to Tanur and other ports of the west coast. When Almeida attacked Ponnani they left it and established themselves near Agalapula. Their courage and loyalty were recognised and admired by the Zamorin, and he conferred upon the head of the family the title of Marakkar and the special right to wear a silk turtan. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Chaliyam Pattu Marakkar obtained leave from the Zamorin to build a small fort at Putuppattanam at the mouth of the Kottapula. On his death his brother's son, Kunhali, succeeded him. He was very ambitious. Conscious of his power on the sea he conceived the idea of carving a little principality of his own, where he would be free from molestation. He enlarged the fort and strengthened its defences. "At the mouth of the river", says Pyrard de Laval, "he erected,

strange that the king of Calicut should turn against Kunhali, the life and soul of the sea-fight against the Portuguese, and combine for his destruction with the very people who thirsted for his blood. This *volte-face* was not due to mere caprice. The *rapprochement* between the Zamorin and the Portuguese had been slowly loosening the bonds of Hindu-Muslim unity in by leave of the king, a large fortress in the fashion of ours, consisting of strong walls, built with lime and sand, and having a supply of fresh water within. Beyond this he constructed two very large forts to guard the mouth of the river so that all his ships came in to safe moorings under the fortress, and abode there out of all danger and trouble. The fortress protected the town, which was also fortified, as well on the sea as on the land side; it was almost surrounded by the sea and the river". "On the land side", says Danvers, "he made a deep ditch with double trench, two and a half yards wide, and at intervals erected towers armed with cannon that flanked the work. Between two creeks he built a strong wall for the protection of the town at either end, whilst along the seashore he erected a palisade, connecting two bastions, in which were heavy cannon that commanded the entrance to the harbour. The entrance was further obstructed by means of masts strongly chained together".

Laval was shown round the fortress and the house in which Kunhali had resided. "I saw" says he, "on the walls of the halls all the adventures and victories of Cognialy (Kunhali) as well by land as by sea, very well painted and coloured, with all the galliots, galleys and other vessels that he had taken or sunk, very skilfully represented. His fame and terror were spread abroad from the Cape of Good Hope to China; and I was assured that he had at a single blow cut a galley oar in two, and likewise had cut down a man with a sword by his side, hewing man and sword with a single cut."

(*The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, pp. 351-352.

Danvers, *The History of the Portuguese*, Vol. II, pp. 94-95).

his kingdom. The treaties which he had concluded with the foreigners had shaken the foundations of their commercial monopoly. The implicit confidence and the whole-hearted loyalty of the former days had been gradually impaired by jealousy, fear and uncertainty. Further, the behaviour of the Moplah hero also tended to precipitate a crisis. Success turned his head. He was indiscreet enough to style himself King of the Moors and Lord of the the Indian Seas, and to waylay ships bound for Calicut and levy blackmail. He had even the audacity to cut off the tail of one of the elephants belonging to the Zamorin. And when asked to explain his conduct, he added insult to injury by ill-treating the Nayar whom the king had sent ¹. So, through the Roman Catholic Fathers, the Zamorin concluded a treaty with the Portuguese against him.

But the allies failed in their first attempt, which was made in 1598. Before they could launch another attack the Zamorin himself died. His successor (1599—1604), however, agreed to bring 15 elephants and 5,000 men-at-arms to the field, and to provide 1,000 labours, 30 boats, 20 axes and 1,000 baskets, while the Portuguese were to make the attack by sea with as many ships as were required. The booty was to be shared equally between the two contracting parties. The Marakkar's life was to be spared, but he was to be kept in honourable custody by the Portuguese. The town and the fortress were to be occupied by the Zamorin. The Rajahs of Bettem and Chaliyam were to remain at Cochin as sureties for the Zamorin, while the Portuguese were to send three officers and two Fathers to Calicut as hostages for their good faith.

At the beginning of 1600 the Zamorin came to Kottakkal with 60,000 Nayars, many times the number agreed to in the treaty. The progress of the siege was, however, interrupted by the *Mamakam*, for which the Zamorin went to Tirunavayi, leaving the Kurumbranad Rajah in charge of the operations.

¹ *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, p. 352.

After the king's return the siege was pressed with vigour both by land and sea. At last, Kunhali sued for peace. The Zamorin promised to spare the lives of his followers. To Kunhali he granted life but not liberty, as his hands had already been tied by the Portuguese. On the appointed day, the garrison sallied out, the Zamorin occupied the fort, and Kunhali was handed over to the Portuguese.¹

The alliance between the Zamorin and the Portuguese was as usual short-lived. The Portuguese violated the treaty by hanging Kunhali like a common felon. The Zamorin regretted that he had surrendered him,² and, holding himself responsible for his fate, he resolved to avenge his death. The Cochin Rajah also tried his best to bring about a rupture. While the Zamorin had been engaged in reducing Kunhali, he attacked Koratty Kaimal, who was a feudatory of the Zamorin. So, as soon as the Kottakkal campaign was over, the Calicut Nayers marched to the south. The Cochinites were defeated and driven back, but, unfortunately, the Zamorin was wounded in the leg. As the Portuguese were supposed to be all in all at Cochin the Zamorin thought that they should have restrained their protege. So preparations were set on foot for their expulsion from Cranganore.

¹ "All the Nairs were drawn up on one side and the Portuguese on the other. Cognialy then came forth and proceeded to salute the king and ask his pardon. The king called upon him to deliver his sword, and taking it, struck him two or three light strokes on the shoulder as if in jest, and then addressed him in these words: "Cognialy, you have given me much trouble and grief"; at the same time turned to Seigneur Andre, saying "Take Cognialy, he is yours." (*Ibid.*, p. 355)

² "The King of Calicut had great regret for having delivered up so valiant a man, for Cognialy and his brother were esteemed the bravest captains in all the East Indies." (*Ibid.*, p. 356).

The year 1604 witnessed the accession of a new Zamorin (1604—1617) at Calicut and the appearance of a new European nation in the Indian waters. These were the Dutch. The Zamorin concluded an agreement with them. By the treaty concluded on November 11, 1604, between "the Zamorin, Emperor of Malabar, and Admiral S. Van der Hagen, with a view to the expulsion of the Portuguese from the territories of His Highness and the rest of India", the Dutch were permitted to open a factory at Ponnani and Calicut in return for their help to reduce Cranganore. But they did not act up to their promise, and the Cranganore project had to be postponed. In 1608 another Dutch fleet of 13 ships came before Calicut. Its commandant, Veerhoeven, presented to the Zamorin two guns he had taken from a Portuguese ship and some valuable articles sent by his master, Maurice of Nassau. The old alliance was renewed, but the new did not prove more fruitful than the old. For, the Dutch were not at this time intent upon establishing any settlements on the Malabar coast.

In 1614 the Cochin rajah quarrelled with the Portuguese, and the Zamorin took advantage of it to lay siege to Cranganore. The Portuguese strove to gain time by opening negotiations; but the Zamorin saw through their designs and refused to recall his Nayara. In 1615 the besieging army was re-inforced, and in the following year a Dutch squadron of 3 ships appeared off the mouth of the river. It seemed that, at last, the fort must fall. But relief was brought by Noronha, whereupon the Dutch sailed away.

But the Zamorin did not withdraw from before Cranganore. In March an English fleet appeared off the place. Captain Keeling, who commanded it, concluded a treaty with him. But the English were not yet ready for enterprises on the mainland. And so the treaty came to nothing.

Shortly afterwards the Zamorin died. The new Zamorin (1617—1627) did not abandon the siege of Cranganore. On the other hand, he prosecuted it with greater vigour. So, in 1623,

the Portuguese sent envoys to him to conclude a treaty. They landed at Calicut on December 22, 1623, and had an audience with the Zamorin. "He was a young man," says P. Della Valle¹, "of thirty, or five and thirty, years of age to my thinking; of a large bulk of body, sufficiently fair for an Indian and of a handsome presence. He is called by the proper name of Vikira. His beard was somewhat long and worn equally round about his face; he was naked, having only a piece of fine changeable cotton cloth, blue and white, hanging from the girdle to the middle of the leg. He had diverse bracelets on his arms, pendants in his ears, and other ornaments with many jewels and rubies of value."

The Zamorin sent a return embassy. But these negotiations did not materialise in a treaty, and war continued for another forty years without any remarkable success on either side.

In the meanwhile, four Zamorins came to the *Stanam* one after the other.² The fourth (1648—1655) is known to history as *Tiruvonam Tirunal Manavikrama Saktan Tampuran*. He celebrated a *Mamakam* in 1649, and performed a *Tulabharam* in 1650 and a *Hiranyagarbham* in 1652³. He died at Trichur on August 28, 1655. He was succeeded by Manaveda, the author of *Krishnanatakam*, popularly known as *Krishnattam*. His reign witnessed important events in Cochin, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Portuguese.

At their instigation, the Mutta Tavali prince, who was the rightful claimant, was driven out of the country. The dispossessed prince sought the help of Manakkulattu Nampati. But the prince was defeated and his ally slain⁴. So he appeal-

¹ *The Travels of P. Della Valle*, Vol. II, p. 367.

² In 1627, 1630, 1637 and 1648. (*The Calicut Granthavari*)

³ *The Mamakam Kilippottu*, p. 34.

⁴ According to the *Patappattu* or the *War-Song*, the Manakkulattu Nampati was slain at Trichur (p. 5), the Cochin

ed to Manaveda for help. This alarmed the Cochin Rajah, and he adopted five princes from Bettem and some princes from Ayirur. The Zamorin prepared for war, but he did not live to conduct the campaign. He died at Trichur in Kumbham, 1658.

His successor, the *Asvati Tirunal* Zamorin (1658—1662) advanced against Cochin, supported by the Rajahs of Idappalli and Alangad. At the same time, the Rajahs of Vatakkankur and Tekkankur joined him from the south. The Cochin Rajah, who was now the eldest of the adoptees from Bettem, was supported by Chempakasseri, Parur, Valluvanad, Alvancheri, and the Portuguese. But this grand confederacy was broken up, the Rajah was driven out of the field, two of his brothers were killed,¹ and finally he himself was shut up at Cochin with Raghavan Kovil, who was the consort of the queen-mother.

Rajah and Raghavan Kovil were in occupation of this place till they were driven out of it and their palace destroyed by the Zamorin in 1658 (p. 8).

But from the Calicut Granthavari it is clear that at no time between 1655 and 1658 was Trichur out of the possession of the Zamorin. For the records show that the following ceremonies were performed at Trichur by the Zamorin during this critical period in Cochin history:—

1655	August 29	}	The <i>Tiruvantali</i> of Saktan
	September 10		Tampuran.
	September 11		The <i>Ariyittuvalcha</i> of his
			successor, Manaveda of
			<i>Krishnanatakam</i> fame.
1656	August		<i>Attacchamayam</i> .
1657	February—March		Left for Vakayur for <i>Tai-</i>
			<i>puyam</i> ..
1658	February 15-27		Death of Manaveda and his
			<i>Tiruvantali</i> .

¹ *The Patappattu*, p. 12.

On February 10, 1661, the Dutch Commandeur, Van der Meyden, came to the Malabar coast. At Alikkottah he had an interview with the Eralpad. It was agreed that the Zamorin was to conduct the attack by land and the Dutch by sea ¹, the expenses of the war were to be shared half and half, the Christians who might be captured were to be handed over to the Dutch, and the Cranganore fort was to be made over to the Zamorin.

According to arrangement Van der Meyden came to Narakkal on February 15, and dispersed a Nayar detachment sent to stop his advance. Next day he appeared before Palliport. The Portuguese made no attempt to resist; they fled by the backwater, and the assailants occupied the fort ². A few days afterwards the Dutch left for Batavia, whereupon the Portuguese came back and re-occupied Palliport ³.

On the first day of 1662 Van Goens arrived from Batavia. Recovering Palliport, he proceeded to Cranganore. On January 3 he was joined by the Calicut Nayars, and the siege of Cranganore began. The Nayars served in the trenches with a fairly

¹ അപ്പോളൂരയെക്കുറിച്ചു കനലമന്നവൻ

“കെല്ലോടു ഞാൻ കരക്കല്ലൻപട

കുപ്പലൂടെ ലത്തവേണം കടലിലും”. (*Ibid.*, p. 16)

² The date of the capture of Palliport is thus given in *The Patappattu*:—

രണ്ടുനാലാംശതം പന്തിരുനൂതം മ—

ങ്ങല്ലൊ യെണ്ണമക്കൊല്ലത്തിനക്കാലം

നല്ല ഘടമാര മാസവും തേരവിൻ;

ചൊല്ലുകിൽ വാവും ചൊച്ചയറിഞ്ഞാലും

അന്നു പിടിച്ചു പള്ളിപ്പറം ലത്തയും

നന്നായിരുന്നാർ ഇരുപത്തേഴുതിനും. (*Ibid.*, p. 17.)

³ നല്ലപറങ്കി പള്ളിപ്പറത്തുമായി

ചൊല്ലെഴും ലത്തേക്കു പോയൊരനന്തരം. (*Ibid.*, p. 18.)

good grace in the heat of the tropical sun. ¹ After a fortnight the besieged surrendered. ² The Dutch demolished the fort with the exception of the bastion, commanding the river, where they stationed a garrison. ³

A new treaty was signed confirming the agreement with Van der Meyden. The Dutch were to have the monopoly of the pepper trade of Calicut. In return they agreed to cede Cranganore and Vaipin after the capture of the Portuguese fort at Cochin, and compel the Rajah to return to his allegiance to the Zamorin.

The allies then moved towards Cochin. The Zamorin crossed the backwater to Ilankunnappula. ⁴ On the appointed day the combined forces marched upon the palace. Against the divine warning given through the oracle the Cochin Rajah risked an engagement. He was cut down with two of his juniors. ⁵

¹ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 11.

² കൊല്ലമതെണ്ണറി മുപ്പത്തേഴാമതു
 മൊല്ലാം മകരമാസവും പിന്നെത്തുയ
 ഞായറായിടുന്നൊരാഴ്ചയും നിശ്ചയം
 മായയൊഴിഞ്ഞ മാധ്യം ദിനം നേരത്തു
 വെട്ടിപ്പിടിച്ചുടൻ കൊട്ടയും.

(*The Patappattu*, p. 23)

³ Nienhoff, Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, p. 254.

⁴ വടവരനിളംകുന്നപ്പഴയുമായി.

(*The Patappattu*, p. 24)

⁵ കടകമോതിരമുളകകൾ വെട്ടി
 മുടിഞ്ഞു മന്നവരിരുവരുമപ്പോൾ

 അണഞ്ഞുമുന്നോക്കിയരിശമോടുകൾ
 പിണങ്ങുവാനായി പരദേശിതാനം
 കടകെപ്പിന്നെയുമതു നേരത്തിങ്കൽ
 കടന്നുവെട്ടിയുണ്ണുമർ കോയിൽപെട്ടു
 പെരുമ്പുഴയിൽ തിരുമുപ്പുവാണ
 വിരുതൻ വീരനും മുടിഞ്ഞുരുളിതു.

(*Ibid.*, p. 28.)

Raghavan Kovil escaped to Ernakulam ¹, whither Goda Varma, the last of the Bettet adoptees, had withdrawn before the battle. The Mutta Tavalí prince then paid his respects to the queen-mother, who rejoiced that at last he had come into his own. ²

The allies formally installed him on the throne, and then proceeded to besiege the Portuguese fort. It was not easy to starve it into surrender; for the Purakkad Atikal and the Rajah of Chempakasseri kept the besieged supplied with provisions. The death of the Zamorin also impeded the progress of the siege. With the onset of the monsoon the siege had to be temporarily suspended. In October it was resumed. And at last, despairing of success, the garrison capitulated on January 7, 1663, ³ and the Portuguese power in Malabar came to an end.

¹ പതിച്ചുരാമർ കോവിലുമൊളിച്ചുപോയി
മരുവി കോതവർമ്മരോടൊരുമിച്ചു.

(*Ibid.*, p. 34.)

² വിനയഭാവമൊടീവണ്ണം മൊഴിയുന്ന
തനയനെക്കണ്ടു തെളിഞ്ഞു മാതാവും
അരികണച്ചാശീർവദനവും ചൊല്ലി
ശിരസ്സിൽ മോദനേ മകന്നുളളിതു.
നിനച്ചതു സാധിച്ചെന്നിരിക്കിനിയുണ്ണീ!
മനസ്സുകേടല്ല മരിക്കുന്നാകിലും. (*Ibid.*, p. 32).

In the light of this evidence the story of the imprisonment of the queen-mother, related by Nieuhooff (Churchill's *Collection* p. 274), has to be rejected. The date of this event is thus described:—

ഇതുകാലംകൊല്ല മിരുനാലുനൂറു
മതിന്നുമേൽ മുപ്പതുമഴും ചെന്നു.
മകരമാസത്തിൽ ഇരുപത്തേഴായി
പകച്ചിടാതൊരു ദിനമറിഞ്ഞാലും
തിഥിപ്രതിപദം ധവളമായതു
കരുമായനാളഴകിലായിലും
കരുതിക്കൊരുക വെള്ളിയാകമാട്ടും
തെളിച്ചദിനം മുടിഞ്ഞിതരചന്ദ്രൻ. (*Ibid.*, p. 34.)

³ കൊല്ലമത്തെണ്ണുറി മുപ്പത്തേടായതും
വില്ലായ മാസമതിലൊരിരുപതും

ചൊല്ലാമൊരച്ചവും ചെന്നിതു ഭാസ്കരൻ
വെള്ളിയാഴി കൊന്നൊരാട്ടുമെന്നല്ലൊ. (*Ibid.*, p. 45)

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE DUTCH

The alliance between the Zamorin and the Dutch had no chance of crystallising into an abiding friendship. They were not bound by any common objects or ideals except their enmity to the Portuguese. The aim of the Dutch was not the destruction of the Portuguese nation as such, but the acquisition of their trade monopolies. To them fighting was a hard necessity, the last resort when all other means of accomplishing their objects had been tried and had failed. They fought with the Portuguese only because the latter were not prepared to surrender their commercial privileges without a struggle. They accepted dominion only when the interests of commerce made it imperative or unavoidable. As a commercial nation their policy was maximum gain with minimum outlay. Anything that saved them in money or energy was eagerly grasped at. They found that their predecessors had built up a system of politico-commercial alliances. Friendship with the Zamorin involved the dissolution of this network and the formation of new treaties and combinations. It was uphill work, for which they had very little inclination. On the other hand, it required little labour to step into the place of the Portuguese and hold the strings of the net which they had so skilfully woven. In fact, they were invited to do it. Now that the Portuguese had disappeared, their former allies besought the new-comers to assume the role of those whom they had supplanted as patrons and protectors.

But the Zamorin had sought their co-operation that he might once more recover his hold on Cochin. Hence his stipulation for the cession of Vaipin and the reduction of the Cochin Rajah to the position of a Calicut vassal in the treaty of 1662. The virtual protectorate which the Dutch assumed over Cochin, however made a lasting friendship with them impossible and a conflict with them inevitable.

Before long the difficulties of the impossible position into which the Dutch and the Zamorin were drifting became manifest. When the former had established themselves in Cochin the latter asked them to fulfil their treaty obligations. The new king of Calicut, the *Puratam Tirunal* (1662-1666), demanded the surrender of Cranganore and Vaipin, and said that they should not enter into an alliance with the Cochin Rajah except as his vassal. But the Dutch complied with neither. If Cranganore was surrendered Cochin would be exposed to his attacks; if Vaipin was ceded Cochin itself would be destroyed; and if the authority of Calicut over Cochin was acknowledged they would be cutting away the ground from under their own feet.

There were also other reasons leading to an estrangement. In accordance with the treaty of 1658 the Zamorin had occupied certain lands belonging to Cochin in lieu of the expenses of the war against the Portuguese and the Bettem faction. But the Cochin Rajah not only refused to pay a single *reis*, but at the secret instigation of the Dutch claimed the restoration of the places which the Zamorin was keeping as security.

In these circumstances the Zamorin thought it wise to welcome the English, who were the commercial rivals of the Dutch, to his kingdom. He allowed them to establish a factory at Calicut in 1664. The Dutch authorities at Amsterdam were alarmed and wrote to their servants in India to spare no pains to secure their expulsion from Calicut.

And these latter, in fact, were not slow to provoke hostilities. They carried off four or five guns from Trivanchikkulam, which was then held by the Eralpad ¹. Thereupon he attacked Cranganore. The Dutch at once summoned their allies, the

¹ കൊടിയനരപതി തിലകുന്നനാട്ടിളമതാൻ
കോപ്പാടുവാഴും തിരിവഞ്ചിക്കുളം തന്നിൽ

chiefs of Cochin, Tekkankur, Vatakkankur, Parur, Chempakasseri, and Mangat. The Zamorin (1666-1668), who felt like the man in the story who had given milk to the serpent ², sent Mangat Acchan, Tinayancheri Elayutu, Calicut Talacchennavar, Cheruli Acchan and Ernad Menon. The Calicut forces were at first successful. The Moplahs, in particular, fought very bravely, and the Dutch were constrained to beg for a truce³. It did not, however, last long. The war was renewed, the Zamorin (1668-1671) being assisted by a Portuguese soldier named Pacheco ⁴. After a year of desultory fighting the Calicut Nayers withdrew, and the Dutch destroyed the Round Fort and erected a bastion about a league north of Tiruvanchikulam in 1669.⁵

ബദരബലമ വിതരമടുത്തു നാലുമുന
 ഭീരകിപിനെ നാലഞ്ചുകവൻല്ലൊ
 കപിതമതിയൊടുമതിനു പടകളൊടുചെന്നിളം
 കൂവായ്തതൻ പടമുട്ടികൊട്ടയ്ക്കും. (*The Patappattu*, p. 52)

² പലദിവസമവനതുണ പണ്ടനാം ചെയ്തതും
 പന്ധിനപാൽ കൊടുത്തപോലാപ്പെട്ടു. (*Ibid.*, p. 54.)

³ മാപ്പിളമാതം ലന്തേശനം പാരതിൽ
 ചരിതമൊടു പോരിനു കോപ്പിട്ടനേരത്തു
 മാണ്ണദം വാങ്ങീതുലനപ്പെരുമ്പട
 അവശതര ഹൃദയമോടുമവിടെ ജോനകരോടു
 മൽചൈതന്യൻ വെള്ളക്കൊടിയുംതൂക്കി. (*Ibid.*, p. 55.)

⁴ പഞ്ചേശനെനൊരു പരദേശിയും തിരു
 വഞ്ചിപ്പെട്ടതു കോട്ടയ്ക്കുയരത്തൊരു
 വെള്ളക്കൊടിയതും തൂക്കിപ്പറഞ്ഞിതു
 തള്ളിവരും ലന്തവീരനോടിങ്ങിനെ. (*Ibid.*, p. 67.)

⁵ വട്ടക്കോട്ടയതു തട്ടിപ്പെട്ടാട്ടിച്ചുടൻ
 വാട്ടമൊഴിഞ്ഞു സൂക്ഷിച്ചിരുന്നാളല്ലൊ
 കൊല്ലം തൊണ്ണൂററി നാല്പത്തഞ്ചായതും
 നല്ലമാസം കന്നിയെന്നതിൽപാതിയും

In the following year, 1670, the Zamorin, though sickly, was persuaded by the Eralpad to go to Cranganore to encourage the Nayars. On March 27, the Dutch surprised the Zamorin's camp. By an inexplicable oversight the Eralpad had allowed the bulk of the Nayars to go to Cherpu for the *Asvati* festival. The Dutch broke into the temple, smashed the idol, killed the priest and set fire to the house where the Zamorin had taken up his residence. The Nayars, however, came quickly to the rescue. The assailants were driven out, 30 of them being killed and 60 wounded. In the confusion of the night the Nayars forgot to remove the Cheraman Sword, and it was burnt to cinders. The Zamorin retired to Pappinivattam, but the Eralpad attacked the Portuguese bastion and captured it.

In 1673 Van Rheede came to Cochin as its Commandeur. He re-occupied the bastion, and followed it up by demanding the cession of Chetwai. It commanded one of the two routes to Cochin, and it was situated in the most fertile part of Malabar. In 1678 he himself came to Ponnani, and induced the Zamorin, the *Utrattati Tirunal* (1671-1684), to part with it.¹

സാദരമഞ്ജിതവഞ്ചിപ്പട്ടത്തിന്നു

കാതം വഴിപോലെ നേരെവടക്കുള്ള

കോതപ്പറമ്പിൽ തോട്ടിങ്കൽ ചമച്ചിതു

കോതിയലാതെ ചിറാമ്പിയും വാടയം. (*Ibid.*, p. 69.)

¹ The Calicut Granthavari describes the presents brought by him as follows:—

കൊല്ലം 858 പാമത ധനു ഞായർ 21-ാംനു- പൊന്നാനി വാക്കെ തൃക്കാവിൽ കോവിലകത്തിരുന്നതളെ കൊച്ചിയിൽ കോട്ടയിലിരിക്കും കുറുവേർ തിരുമുൽകാഴ്ച വെച്ചത് എഴുതിയ കണക്ക്.

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|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. മുഴുവൻ പൊൻ കസകുള്ള | 4. തെവാനും ചുക്കൻ പട്ട ഒന്നി |
| പട്ട ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 12. | ന്നു മുളം 11. |
| 2. മിച്ചമുളം ഉള്ള പട്ട ഒന്നിന്നു | 5. വെള്ളികസകുള്ള പട്ട |
| മുളം 14. | ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 15. |
| 3. മിച്ചമുളം ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 12. | 6. പച്ചചുരുട്ട് ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 15. |

In 1684 the famous *Bharani Tirunal*, the hero of the *Mamakam Kilippattu*, became the head of the *Nediyiruppu Svarupam*. He was assisted by an astute Konkani Brahmin named *Bahu* or *Bavan Pattar*. His agents worked everywhere, in Travancore, Cochin and Chirakkal. It is said that even some of the higher officials of Cochin were his spies.

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| 7. വെള്ളി കസകളു ചുകന്ന പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 25. ടി പൂച്ചട്ട ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. |
| 8. പച്ചമുളയ് വെള്ളി കസകളു പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 26. ടി ടി 14. |
| 9. ചുകന്ന വരിയെൻ നീളത്തിൽ പൊൻ കസകളു പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 27. വീട്ടു പച്ചൊടം ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 33. |
| 10. വെളുത്ത വരിയെൻ നീളത്തിൽ വെള്ളി കസകളു പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 13. | 28. കെപച്ചൊടം നാലിന്നു മുളം 132. |
| 11. വെള്ളപ്പുട്ടുവലി ഭൂമി ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 29. പീതാംബരം പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 3. |
| 12. ശ്രീവലി ഭൂമി ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 10½. | 30. ചുകന്ന പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 4½. |
| 13. നീളത്തിൽ പൊൻകസകളു ചുകന്ന പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 13. | 31. മോല നിറത്തിൽ വംപടം ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 12. |
| 14. ടി ചുകന്ന പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 20. | 32. ആനക്കൊമ്പുകൊണ്ടു പല്ലക്കു 1. |
| 15. ടി ടി 14. | 33. ടി തണ്ടു 1. |
| 16. കന്നിവാല് ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 10. | 34. തണ്ടു പൊതിഞ്ഞ പീതാംബരം മുറി ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 5. |
| 17. മഞ്ഞരവാല് ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 10. | 35. ടി പന്നാകം 1. |
| 18. ടി ടി 10. | 36. പന്നാകത്തിന്റെ ഉള്ളിൽ തൂക്കുന്ന പൊൻ കസകളു വലിയ ഉമ്മത്തു 1. |
| 19. പീതാംബരം പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 37. പന്നാകത്തിന്റെ നാലുവക്കത്തും പൊൻതകിടുകൊണ്ടു മിററുള്ളപൊടിപ്പു 4. |
| 20. ടി ടി 10½. | 38. ടി പൊൻ തകിടുകൊണ്ടു മിററുള്ള പൊടിപ്പു 22. |
| 21. ടി ടി 10. | 39. മാതിക്കു ചുരുളു 1. |
| 22. ടി ടി 8½. | 40. ജാതിപത്രിക ചുരുളു 1. |
| 23. പൂച്ചട്ട ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 41. കറംപൂവ ചുരുളു 1. |
| 24. ഇറഞ്ഞിപ്പൂവ പണിമുള്ള പച്ച നിറത്തിൽ ഉള്ള പട്ടു ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 14. | 42. പനിസീർകപ്പി 36. |
| | 43. മലമുക്ക ചന്ദനമുട്ടി ഒന്നിന്നു മുളം 4. |
| | 44. മൂന്നമടക്കുള്ള വക്രമാല 1. |

The Calicut Granthavari).

Circumstances played into the hands of the Zamorin. The Dutch had managed to alienate everyone at Cochin. The people hated them for their insolence, the nobles for their exclusion from power, and the Rajah for the restraints imposed on him. Their enemies rallied round Goda Varma, the last survivor of the adoptees of 1658, who was leading a precarious life, wandering from one partisan to another. Parur and Mangat, Manakkulam and Ayinikuttu, Kavalappara and Karapuram, joined in a league against them. In this extremity the Dutch caused their protegee to adopt a Chaliyur prince as his successor in 1689. 'The Leaguers' at once rose in arms. They invited the third prince of Bettet to assume the leadership. In 1691 he came to Mangat, accompanied by the sixth prince of Ayinikuttu.

The Dutch were paralysed with fear. They had no ally to turn to. As a last resource they opened negotiations with the Zamorin. They sent the Rajah of Cranganore and Velos Patteri to Ponnani to conclude a treaty¹.

The Zamorin went to Cranganore after the *Tai-puyam*, accompanied by Kakkat. The Cochin Commandeur was granted an audience. A truce for 12 years was concluded, the Dutch ceding Chetwai, and agreeing to pay the expenses of the war.

The Calicut forces were commanded by Krishnan, the Talacchennore of Chowghat. They crossed into Alangad and Parur, and drove the enemy back to Cochin. The Talacchennore and Parappalli Nayakan then proceeded to Kayamkulam, settled the differences between its Rajah and the Dutch, and set limits to the aggression of his enemies.²

In 1694 the Zamorin celebrated the *Mamakam* at Tirunavayi. Afterwards he put down the Ayinikuttu princes and occupied Cheralayam. This was followed by a *Mrityumjaya*-

¹ *The Mamakam Kilippattu*, pp. 36, 38-44.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

*japam*¹. The year 1695 witnessed the celebration of another *Mamakam* festival, a distorted account of which was given by Hamilton to his European contemporaries.

In the meanwhile, the diplomacy of Bavan Pattar was producing its inevitable effect. The allies of the Cochin Rajah began to desert him one by one. Even the Commissary General of Batavia, the head of the Dutch Government in the East Indies, fell under his influence. In 1696 he came to Ponnani to pay his respects to the Zamorin without even touching at Cochin.

The Cochin Rajah, who felt himself slighted, tried his best to bring about a rupture between the Dutch and the Zamorin. He appealed to Amsterdam, but the Dutch remained deaf. He sent his soldiers to raid the Zamorin's territories, so that a general war might involve them in hostilities with Calicut. The Zamorin replied by building a series of stockades at Pappini-vattam, Kattur, Mapranam, Kotaparamba, Urakam, Trittani, and six other places. Rama Varma, who came to the throne at Cochin in 1698, was more crafty than his predecessor. He did not like to receive his crown from the Dutch. And he also wanted to embroil them with the Zamorin. So he swore he would not celebrate his *Ariyittuvalcha* except at Pookaita, the original seat of the dynasty, which was then in the possession of the Zamorin. But the Dutch were too clever and refused to be caught in the trap.

The Zamorin entertained no illusions about the Dutch. He was fully aware that they had sought his friendship from sheer necessity, not from any change of heart, and they would turn against him the moment circumstances seemed favourable to them. So he strove to enlarge the circle of his alliances. Kayamkulam was already tied to him by golden chains of gratitude. Bavan Pattar went to Purakkad, Parur, Tekkankur

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 113-125.

and Vatakkankur to enlist their aid against Cochin. A new treaty was concluded with the English in 1699. Negotiations for a closer alliance with the Bembanad princes by an adoption into his family—which became necessary by the failure of heirs—were also set on foot.

The Dutch were not blind to the far-reaching aims of the Zamorin's diplomacy. They saw with increasing fear the cordon closing fast round them. Yet they did not despair. They invited the Zamorin and his new allies to a conference in January 1701 to settle their differences with Cochin ¹.

But the king of Calicut knew that it was only a ruse to gain time. He attacked Cochin, and in 1702 he was joined by Purakkad and Parur. ² The Dutch now agreed to assist Cochin, because the truce was about to expire. So the Zamorin pushed on with his preparations for the adoption. ³ Unfortunately, he died in 1705 before they were completed.

His successor (1705–1711) gave up his predecessor's Tekkankur project, leaving the Bembanad Rajahs free to join the Dutch, and provided for the continuance of his dynasty by adopting his heirs and heiresses from Nileswaram in 1706 ⁴. Nevertheless he continued the Cochin war. Success inclined now to one side, now to the other; but the balance of advantage lay with the Zamorin. In 1707 he penetrated into Kodasari and Muriyanad, which made the Dutch abandon their passive attitude as spectators and declare that these chiefs were under their protection. The Zamorin expressed his readiness to give them satisfaction, and sent his ministers to Cochin to meet

¹*The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 60.

²*Ibid.* ³"The Zamorin proposes to adopt two princes and two princesses of Tekkankur to the prejudice of Cochin." Letter dated June 22, 1704. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 63 and 64).

⁴ According to the genealogical table, now kept at the Putiya and Patinhare Kovilakams and made accessible to me after the first chapter had gone to the press, two Tampurattis

the Commandeur. An agreement was arrived at, but it was broken in February 1708². The Dutch were not, however, eager for war. They resorted to diplomacy, and at last, in 1710, succeeded in getting Chetwai from the Zamorin.

In 1711 a new Zamorin came to the *Stanam*. He sent Tamme Panikkar, who owned extensive lands in the vicinity of Chetwai, to see that the Dutch did not convert it into a base to attack him from. But they were too wise to let the grass grow under their feet. Near Chetwai were some lands which were claimed by the Zamorin as well as the Cochin Rajah. The latter made over his rights to them, and forthwith they began to construct a fort for the better security of Chetwai. The Zamorin protested against this highhanded conduct; but the Dutch were not in a mood to pay any heed to his protests. So he sent a force to pull down the half-finished fortifications.

Hamilton gives a vivid account of the expulsion of the Dutch from Chetwai. "The Zamorin", says he,² "entered into the war with the Dutch East India Company in anno 1714, and the Chief of the English Factory, who was a privy counsellor to the Zamorin, had a great hand in promoting it. The quarrel began about a small fort that the Dutch were building at Chetwai. The ground whereon it stood was a desert morass by the river's side, and was claimed both by the king of Cochin and the Zamorin. The king of Cochin made over his claim to the

and one Tampuran were adopted into the Putiya Kovilakam and two Tampurans into the Kilakke Kovilakam in 1706. In the following year, i. e., 1707, the younger sister of the Putiya Kovilakam Tampurattis referred to above, aged six years, and the niece of the Kilakke Kovilakam Tampurans also referred to above, aged five years, were adopted into the Patinhare and Kilakke Kovilakams respectively.

¹ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 70.

² Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, pp. 315—317.

Dutch, who made small account who had the best title but carried on their work with diligence. The Zamorin, with and by the advice of his council, got some of his soldiers to be entered into the Dutch service, under the guise of daily labourers to carry stones, mortar, etc., for building the fort, and to take their opportunity to lie in ambuscade in a morass overgrown with reeds near the fort. Two Dutch lieutenants, who had the overseeing of the work, were one evening diverting themselves with a game at tables in a guard-room about half a mile from the fort. They had let some of their Dutch soldiers go straggling abroad, and the sentinels were careless under the security of friendship, which gave the workmen an opportunity to kill the sentinels, and make their signal for the ambuscade, who, in a few minutes, took the half-built fort. The lieutenants came presently after, with what forces they had, to retake it, but, one being shot dead in advancing, the other thought it, impracticable to attack greater forces within, than he had without, and so embarked, with his men, on board small boats for Cochin, about ten leagues from Chetwai.

"I fortun'd to be at Cochin when he and his men arrived, and by a court-martial he was sentenced to be shot to death, which sentence I saw executed. The Zamorin's people next day created a flag-staff; and hoisted the English flag, which the English Chief had sent by the ambuscade, and immediately after set about demolishing the walls, that were built, of the fort, and carried off some great guns belonging to the Dutch."

"When the tidings of this disaster reached Cochin," writes Visseher, "it caused a universal panic among the Dutch, and gave rise to a spirit of insolence among the natives, who thought that we were ruined." ¹ The Commandeur, Barent Kettel, hastened at once to Chetwai with three companies, three pieces of artillery and two mortars. He was, however, waylaid by Mangat Acchan, who inflicted such a loss upon him that he was

¹ Visseher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter IV.

not able to recover the place. He was compelled to entrench himself with his troops in a *pagger*. But day by day his position became more and more difficult. With the Nayars regularly receiving supplies and reinforcements, and with his communications threatened by Mangat Acchan, he had no other alternative than to retire. But before that he made a heroic attempt to dislodge the enemy from the fort. "On the 1st of February the Commandant resolved," says Visscher, "to assault the place and scale the walls; but oh folly! when the troops reached the walls, they found that they had neglected to bring scaling ladders, and were consequently forced to retire foiled, with the loss of 80 men."

The Zamorin resolved to follow up this success by an attack on Cranganore. With that object he fortified Pappinivattam. And to prevent the enemy from obtaining any supplies here he forbade the inhabitants to cultivate the land.

Towards the end of 1715 three captains came from Batavia. In January 1716 they attacked Pappinivattam, but their attempt ended in disaster. Encouraged by this success, the Rajah of Parur proceeded against Cranganore, whereupon Kettel abandoned his *pagger*, and went with his men to the assistance of the Cranganore garrison.

The Batavian Government made grand efforts to restore their fallen fortunes in Malabar. Thinking that the success of the Zamorin was due to the treachery of their Indian allies, they declined the offers of Ali Rajah and the Kolattiri¹. But they ordered everyone of their available men and ships to the Malabar coast. Nearly 3,000 men were sent to Malabar, and the entire coast from Chetwai to Calicut was blockaded².

All the while, the Zamorin also was not marking time. He obtained large sums of money from the English³, and through their assistance despatched additional men, munition

¹ *The Press Lint of Ancient Dutch Records*, No 87.

² *Ibid.*, 87.

³ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. III, pp. 72-75.

and provisions to his commanders at Chetwai. He assembled a huge army at Chowghat, which struck terror in the minds of the Cochin Rajah and his ally, Chankaran Kota Kaymal ¹.

Towards the end of 1716 William Jacobz arrived from Batavia. With a splendid army, composed of Europeans, Javanese, Balinese, and others, assisted by the Cochin Nayars, he attacked Pappinivattam. Led by Tanme Panikkar the Nayars defended themselves with great courage and inflicted a great slaughter upon the enemy. But the Dutch artillery proved stronger, and the Panikkar had to evacuate the fort.

Thereupon the Dutch advanced into the interior, and occupied Maprana, Towtampuri, Avatorti and Urakam, where a skirmish took place with the Zamorin's Nayars ². Decisive success seemed to be still far away, and the Dutch, unwilling for financial reasons to continue the war, made peace with the Zamorin on February 22, 1718.

The Zamorin was to pay 85,000 Fanams as war-indemnity, cede Chetwai and Pappinivattam, and allow the Dutch all freedom to trade in his dominions. He was also to dismiss lamme Panikkar, "the chief firebrand of the treason of Chetwai" ³, from the court, and all his lands in Chetwai were to be given to the Company. In return, the Dutch withdrew all their claims on Punnattur.

In appearance the Zamorin seems to have been vanquished. But his enemies "were soon to find that neither the strength of the Zamorin nor his power for offence had in any way been lessened" ⁴.

¹ *The Press list of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 95.

² The importance of this battle is exaggerated by Visscher. See Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, Letter IV, and Galletti's *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 21.

³ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar* (Moen's Memorandum), p. 134.

⁴ Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 44.

Chetwai was so vital to his communications in the south that he could not easily reconcile himself to its loss. So as soon as friendly relations were restored he opened negotiations for getting it back. He sent an envoy to Commandeur Christopher Van Vasso with a request for the retrocession of Chetwai¹. But the Dutch would not surrender what they had obtained after so much loss and bloodshed. On the other hand, considering a renewal of war inevitable, they strove to consolidate their position by reducing every prince in alliance with them to the position of a dependent vassal. Well aware of the value of the policy of *divide et impera*, they even fomented discords in every royal family that came under their influence so that they might perpetuate their authority over them.

Chetwai was not the only cause of difference between them and the Zamorin. They did not like the presence of the English at Calicut. As early as 1667 the authorities at Amsterdam had written to Batavia to employ every means and effort to have the English expelled from the Zamorin's dominions². To prevent the export of pepper by the English they patrolled the coast from Chetwai to Ponnani.³ The Zamorin therefore organised a new confederacy. In 1728 he sent Padmanabha Pattar to Kayamkulam, Vatakkankur, Tekkankur and Parur to induce them to join him against the Dutch and the Cochin Rajah. And in the following year their representatives came to Ponnani to concert measures for the furtherance of their common design.⁴

But operations could not be immediately set on foot. For the Zamorin died shortly afterwards, and the country was ravaged by small pox for two years,⁵ which did not, however, prevent the new Zamorin (1729-1741) from celebrating the

¹ *The Calicut Granthavari*.

² Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 44.

³ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. II, p. 29.

⁴ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 156.

⁵ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. IV, pp. 37 and 36

Mamakkam of 1731. The Dutch took advantage of the Zamorin's pre-occupation to occupy Inamakkal and fortify it in 1735¹. At the same time they strove to be friends with him, even encouraging him to quarrel with Cochin, without pushing matters to the verge of hostilities.² But the Cochin Rajah was bent upon provoking a war, so that he might drag them into it. So, in 1740, he invaded the lands of the Chittur Namputiri.³ But the Zamorin was not then in a position to declare war. For, the indisposition of the mind, which had been growing upon him, came to a head, and he died on April 7, 1741⁴.

The new Zamorin (1741-1746) was the eldest of the adoptees from Nileswaram. "The new king", writes Gollesse,⁵ "is a prince between 30 and 35 years old, adopted from the house of Nileswaram, but a little too gentle to oppose the humours of his second prince, who boasts that he intends to live and die a mortal enemy of the Honourable Company." In 1742 a dispute arose between the Cochin Rajah and the Zamorin about the management of the Triprayar temple. The Eralpad invaded the Cochin territory and laid waste the land of Mangalam. The Dutch succeeded in bringing about a suspension of hostilities, and they "seriously warned the Cochin Rajah to avoid carefully every occasion of new disturbances, rather to bear and digest a small injustice than bring greater upon himself." After the *Mamakkam*, in 1743, the Zamorin proceeded to Chunangad to repel an invasion by the Vellatri⁶. In 1745 broke out a formidable rebellion of the Moplahs at Tirurangadi⁷.

On February 12, 1746, the Eralpad, described by Gollesse as the mortal enemy of his nation, became the Zamorin.

¹ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, Nos. 175 and 234. ² *Ibid.*, No. 211. ³ *Ibid.*, No. 288. ⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 306 and *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XII, pp. 83 and 115. ⁵ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 66-67. ⁶ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XIV, p. 116. ⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 8.

For two years after his accession he was engaged in suppressing the Moplah rebellion, which had broken out in his predecessor's reign ¹. In 1750 he sent an army to assist the Kolattiri against the Valunnavar of North Malabar ². The Dutch, in the meanwhile, used the opportunity thus afforded to strengthen their outposts and intrigue with his enemies. So, in 1752, he attacked Inamakkal ³, obtaining an ample supply of powder and shot from the Danes ⁴. But operations were delayed by the defection of Mangat Acchan. He was, however, soon brought back to his duty, and in the course of 1753 and 1754 the Zamorin occupied almost all the lands ceded to the Dutch by the treaty of 1718. This alarmed them, and they fortified Pulikkara to secure the communication between Chetwai and the sea. In 1755 the Zamorin crossed over to Payancheri at the head of 3,000 Nayers and occupied it. This made Alangad join the Zamorin ⁵.

In the meanwhile, Martanda Varma was busy consolidating his position, and extending his empire with the assistance of Rama Ayyan. The Rajahs of Kayankulam, Tekkankur and Vatakkankur fled to Calicut. In 1753 the Cochin Rajah was defeated by the Travancoreans at Purakkad, and Cochin itself was threatened. As the Dutch had been bound hand and foot by the treaty of Mavelikkara (1748), they could not help him. So, in this hour of danger, he turned to the Zamorin. He sent the Jew, Ezekiel-Rabbi, to Calicut to negotiate an alliance with his age-long foe ⁶. The Zamorin agreed to help him, provided the

¹ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, Nos. 421, 422.

² *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XX, p. 7.

³ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records* No. 533.

⁴ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, pp. 103-105.

⁵ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 574.

⁶ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XX, p. 160, and Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar* (Moens), p. 128.

expenses of the war were paid and the 18½ villages were ceded as security for payment.

The king of Calicut made also an attempt to enlist the Dutch under his banner. He promised to restore the lands he had occupied and even give 2,000 candies of pepper every year if they would join the confederacy.¹ But they were afraid of Martanda Varma, and forthwith informed him of the overtures made by the Zamorin.

Thus forewarned, the Travancoreans were ready to defend Arukutty, which commanded the only passage leading to Travancore from Cochin. When the Zamorin's army arrived there, they found the enemy prepared to oppose their landing. Led by Rama Ayyan, the Travancoreans successfully resisted every attempt made by the Calicut Nayars, and finally compelled them to retire.² Before another attempt could be made the Cochin Rajah had gone over to the enemy.

The proximity of the Calicut forces roused in the minds of the Cochin princes the memories of ancient days, and they began to grow suspicious. Further, Paliyat Komu Menon, who had been led a captive to Travancore after the Purakkad disaster, utilised his enforced stay at Trivandrum to appease the Travancore ministers. At last, he succeeded in inducing the Travancore Rajah to conclude a treaty of friendship against the Zamorin on January 22, 1757.

In the meanwhile, the Zamorin had occupied Pappinivattam, and compelled the Dutch to leave Matilakam. Afterwards he fortified Pulikkara³ to cut off Chetwai from the sea, and overran the country of the Veloswad Nampiyars. On April 9, he captured Inamakka, and

¹ Nagamayya, *The Travancore Manual*, Vol. I, p. 373.

² Sangunny Menon, *The History of Travancore*, p. 162.

³ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 574.

removed the guns left behind by the Dutch to Pulikkara. Then with 8,000 soldiers he invaded Chetwai. To prevent the Dutch receiving succour by sea he occupied the island opposite to it. And throwing 3,000 men into Parur he threatened Cranganore. Failing in an attempt to relieve Chetwai, the Dutch finally abandoned it. On October 22 the Zamorin captured Mullurkara and pushed on to Cranganore¹. The Commandeur himself came from Cochin to conduct its defence, while the Cochin heir-apparent came to Tiruvanchikkulam for the assistance of his allies.

While to all appearance the siege was going on, messengers were secretly passing to and fro between the Dutch and the Zamorin. At last, a treaty was concluded on March 6, 1758, by which the Zamorin agreed to give up Matilakam, Puttanchira, Chetwai, and Pappinivattam, and pay Rs 65,000 as a war indemnity.

It may seem strange that the Zamorin, who was throughout the victor, should conclude a peace as though he were the vanquished. The explanation is to be sought in the danger from the Travancoreans. He had no fear of the Dutch; he knew what their strength was and where their weakness lay. The immediate crisis tided over and the advance of the Travancoreans stopped, he thought he could at his own convenience recover Chetwai.

But he was not destined to conduct the war against the Travancoreans. For he died exactly two months after the conclusion of the treaty with the Dutch, on May 7. His successor (1758-1766) however, was not so able. Mangat Acchan withdrew from the court,² and two of his commandants, of Aliparampa and Mapranam, openly rebelled.³ In these circumstances it was not difficult for his enemies to penetrate into his territories. A combined force of Travancoreans and Cochinites invaded his

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 814. ² *Ibid.*, No. 655. ³ *The Calicut Granthavari*.

dominions in 1762, and compelled him to abandon Alangad, Parur and Trichur. But the Travancoreans were not in a position to advance further. For the Nabob of the Carnatic had invaded their country from the south ¹. So negotiations were opened. The Zamorin himself went to Padmanabhapuram, accompanied by the Valia Tampuran of the Patinhare Kovilakam, and concluded a treaty in 1763, agreeing to pay Rs 16,000 for war expenses and refer all his disputes with Cochin to the friendly mediation of Travancore ².

¹ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, Nos. 699 and 716. ² *The Calicut Granthavari*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MYSOREAN INVASIONS

The downfall of the Zamorin was brought about not by his European enemies, the Portuguese and the Dutch, nor by his Kerala foes, Travancore and Cochin, but by the Mysoreans. At the invitation of the Palghat Rajah they invaded his dominions in 1732¹. They appeared again in 1735². In 1757 they raided his frontier outposts³, and in 1745 he fought three battles with them⁴. In 1756 they invaded his territories for the fifth time.

Unable to withstand the continued hostility of the Zamorin, the Rajah of Palghat finally placed himself under the protection of the king of Mysore, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 12,000 Fanams. The king of Mysore ordered Haidar Ali, who was then the *Faujdar* of Dindigul, to go to the assistance of his Palghat vassal. Haidar sent his brother-in-law, Mukhdam Sahib, with 2,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry and 5 guns. The Zamorin had then his hands full with the war with Cochin and the Dutch. He therefore chose to buy off the invader rather than fight him, by promising to refrain from molesting Palghat and pay 12 lakhs of Rupees for the expenses of the expedition. Unfortunately, the war in the south was protracted; it was not concluded till 1763. Consequently the Zamorin was not able to pay anything to Haidar.

All this while, Haidar also was busy preparing for his *coup d'état*. As soon as he became the master of Mysore he sent envoys to the Zamorin to demand the sum due by the treaty of 1756. They came at a very unlucky moment.

¹ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. V, p. 43. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 81. ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 52. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 42.

The treasury was empty, especially after the disastrous war with Travancore. The Zamorin asked for time; but the ambassadors were peremptory. And as he was not in a position to pay even a part of the sum demanded, they returned to their country in anger and disappointment. Haidar thereupon resolved to invade Calicut, and at the head of 12,000 picked troops started for Malabar in 1766.

His task was made easy by the help he received from his co-religionists. The hostility between Hindu and Muslim was as potent a factor in the decline of Kerala and of the Zamorin as the rivalry between Samanta and Kshatriya.¹ Ever since the treaty of 1513 with Albuquerque the Zamorin and the Muhamadans were falling apart. As days passed the latter became suspicious, insolent and hostile. The letters of the English factor at Calicut contain numerous references to the disturbances caused by them.² In 1744 the Zamorin had to adopt special measures against them.³ In 1745 they broke out into open revolt at Tirurangadi, which was not suppressed till the following year. In 1750 they once more rebelled at Tirurangadi, entrenching themselves in the mosque and holding it against the Zamorin.⁴

¹ This was one of the causes of the hostility of Cochin. One of the reasons which induced the Bettet Rajah, who had been the right-hand man of the Zamorin, to consent to the adoption of his princes into the Cochin family in 1658 was the Cochin Rajah was, like him, a Kshatriya while the Zamorin was a Samanta. The disaffection of Ayirur and Cranganore may also be traced to the same pride of birth. *The Patappattu*, p. 7.

² *The Tellichery Consultations*, Vol. IX, p. 26, Vol. XII, p. 110, Vol. XVII—B, p. 51, Vol. XVIII, p. 24, and Vol. XIX, pp. 117, 162.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 12, 24, 51, 54, 169, and Vol. XVII—A, p. 131.

⁴ *The Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 492.

Haidar advanced by way of Chirakkal. The Zamorin proceeded to the Kotta river at the head of a large force to oppose him at the Perinkolam ferry. Though his army had been reinforced on the way by the Kadattanad Nayars ¹, the Nabob was too strong for him. After a fierce engagement he forced the passage of the river, and compelled his enemies to fall back.

He was not, however, in a position to make an immediate descent on the Zamorin's capital, for his cavalry had been considerably thinned, and his infantry needed rest. So he sent Ali Rajah by sea to Calicut. The Eralpad, who was in charge of the fort, refused to surrender it, whereupon Ali Rajah invested it with the help of the local Moplahs.

The Zamorin tried to make peace with Haidar by a personal appeal. He offered all his treasure and property, but the Nabob demanded the astounding sum of a crore of gold *mohurs* ². The Zamorin, therefore, retired to Calicut, closely pursued by his enemy. Here and there the Nayars made heroic but ineffectual attempts to stop the advance of the sweeping avalanche. On April 20 Haidar arrived at Calicut, and established his camp at Palayam.

With his arrival the siege became more rigorous. As provisions ran short the Zamorin sent the Eralpad and the Tampurattis to Ponnani. As his position became more and more desperate he grew more and more stubborn in his refusal to surrender. At last, he resolved to put an end to his life, and with it the fort which no enemy had entered as a conqueror since the first Zamorin laid its foundation. On the 27th of April, corresponding to the 14th of *Metam*, 941 M. E., on *Chitra* or the fourteenth lunar asterism, he set fire to the powder magazine with his own hand, and was blown up along with the fortress, from which his ancestors had marched out to conquer and annex ³.

¹ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar* (Moens), p. 153.

² Logan, *The Malabar Manual*, p. 411.

³ Michaud, *The History of Mysore*, pp. 23—24.

The Eralpad, who had retired with the Tampurattis to Ponnani and thence to Parur, now became the Zamorin. From his distant refuge he ordered the Nayars, who knew every nook and corner of the country, to harass Haidar at every step and carry on a guerilla war against him. Ere long Haidar recognised that, though he had become master of Calicut, he was not yet master of Malabar, and many a battle and skirmish would have to be fought before his authority could be established. But the monsoon broke out, and his soldiers, not accustomed to the rains, could not stay in Malabar. So, leaving a movable column of 3,000 men under Madanna and inciting the Moplahs to fresh endeavours against the Hindus, he proceeded to Coimbatore.

This was the signal for a general revolt, and his garrisons at Ponnani and Calicut were surrounded. Rajah Ali, the *Faujdar* of Madukkarai, came to Malabar to quell the outbreak. But he was caught in a trap at the confluence of the Tuta and Ponnani rivers, whence he could neither advance on account of the swollen streams nor retreat on account of the enemy. So Haidar himself came to his rescue. Burning and pillaging, leaving a trail of ruins, he came like Tamerlane. The Nayars fell back on Putiyangadi. But his troops stormed it, inflicting terrible slaughter on the defenders.

Haidar now resolved to stamp out all resistance by a policy of severe repression. He degraded the Nayars, ordering them to salute the Cherumas or the agrestic slaves, who formed the lowest caste, and completely disarmed them, commanding all persons to kill such Nayars as were found bearing arms. But the valorous Nayars could not be so easily put down. So Haidar proclaimed another edict, re-establishing in all their rights and privileges such Nayars as should embrace Islam. This also proving futile, he established his headquarters at Manjeri, and from there, as a centre, his soldiers spread out like a net, scouring every wood and hill, and capturing men, women and children. Large numbers were killed, large numbers were sold as

slaves, and not an inconsiderable part of the captives were transported to Mysore. Still the Nayers remained unsubdued.

Meanwhile, political circumstances demanded the imperative return of Haidar to Mysore. The Mahrattas and the Nizam had invaded it from the north, and the Nabob hastened to the defence of his dominions, leaving a large force in the country to hold the block-houses he had constructed.

His departure was again followed by a general rising, and his garrisons, scattered throughout the country, were surrounded everywhere. But the genius of a Brahmin saved them all. Madanna opened negotiations with the Nayar chiefs, "hinting that his master had found his conquest of Malabar an acquisition more chargeable than advantageous; that if the chiefs should consent to reimburse the heavy charges which he had incurred, he would be ready to restore their possessions."¹ Ignorant of the difficulties of Haidar and the utter helplessness of his garrisons here, they eagerly accepted the offered terms, and the Mysoreans, "whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable not only retreated in safety, but loaded with treasure—the willing contribution of the chiefs of Malabar—the purchase of a dream of independence."²

The Zamorin thus returned to Calicut, agreeing to pay an annual tribute. For nearly six years, from 1768 to 1774, nothing was heard of Haidar. The Zamorin thought that he had seen the last of him, and instead of making arrangements for paying the tribute or defending his kingdom, he allowed himself to be diverted by insignificant affairs. He entered into a quarrel with the Cochin Rajah about the appointment of a priest in the Triprayar temple, and plunged into the dispute with such zeal and vehemence as "though his head and the existence of his kingdom depended on it."³

¹ *The Malabar Gazetteer*, 67.

² Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 420.

³ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar* (Moen), p. 133.

Unfortunately for the Zamorin, Haidar was able to come to an understanding with his enemies. Thus freed from them, he sent a force under Srinivasa Rao through Wynad to occupy Calicut. It was only then that the Zamorin opened his eyes to the danger that threatened to overwhelm him. As the French were then in high favour with the Nabob, he appealed to them for help, "submitting himself, his country and subjects to the king of France" ¹. A treaty was concluded on January 12, 1774, and Monsieur Duprat, Governor of Mahe, came to Calicut. He asked Srinivasa Rao to stop his advance, as his master, the king of France, had taken the Zamorin under his protection. But the Brahmin general knew his duty. He came steadily on and when he arrived at the town on January 19, Monsieur Duprat quietly returned to Mahe.

Deserted by the French, the Zamorin also left Calicut. The Dutch would not allow him to take shelter in their territory. "So he retired with his family to the south in a native vessel to the kingdom of Travancore" ².

But the princes remained in the country. Under Ravi Varma of the Patinhare Kovilakam they offered a stubborn resistance. Though the Moplahs had declared against the Hindus, Haidar found it difficult to assert his authority even after four years' continuous fighting. His soldiers were safe only behind their stockades, and the conquest of Calicut, instead of augmenting his resources, served only to drain them. So, in 1779, he sent the Rajah of Chirakkal to discuss the terms of a lasting peace. As a personal inducement to Ravi Varma he allowed him "to make a small proportional collection from the country for his own support" ³. It was agreed that the Zamorin was to be re-instated in return for a fixed tribute. Ravi Varma met the Nabob's representatives to discuss and decide upon the details. But the conference broke down all on a sudden. Some

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155. ² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³ *The Joint Commissioners' Report*, p. 26.

movements of the Nabob's soldiers aroused Ravi Varma's suspicions, and he returned at once to Nedunganad ¹.

Shortly afterwards war broke out between Haidar and the English. Ravi Varma joined the latter, and helped them to occupy Calicut in 1782. Then the combined army, consisting of the English forces and Ravi Varma's Nayars, defeated Haidar's general at Tirurangadi, and pursued him as far as Palghat. Thereupon Haidar sent his son, Tippu, to restore his authority in Malabar. The Nabob's death on December 12, 1782, however, obliged Tippu to return to Mysore, and Ravi Varma and the English were once more free to carry on their operations.

In November 1783 Colonel Fullarton advanced to Palghat. He invited the Zamorin to join him. He promised to establish him at Palghat after its capture, and restore him to Calicut if he moved in that direction on no other condition than that of supplying the army with grain and other necessities when engaged in the vicinity of Palghat. Accordingly, the Eralpad joined him with his followers. They were of the greatest service to Fullarton; they provided him with not only supplies but much useful information about the fort and its defences besides conciliating the people. On the 4th the fort was surrounded, and on the 13th the garrison capitulated. Fullarton then proceeded to Coimbatore, and the Zamorin occupied the fort.

But the Madras Government mismanaged the war, and Tippu re-occupied Malabar. The Mysoreans resorted to a stratagem to make the Zamorin evacuate the fort. "Tippu's soldiers daily exposed the heads of many Brahmins in sight of the fort. And the Zamorin, rather than witness such enormities, chose to abandon Palghat" ².

By the treaty of Mangalore, concluded in 1784, the English gave up their claims on Malabar, and the Tiger of Mysore once more became its undisputed master. So Ravi Varma

¹ Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar* (Moens), pp. 162-163.

² Fullarton, quoted in the *Malabar Manual*, p. 445.

resumed his activities, and all the country south of Calicut became a prey to his Nayars.

In 1785 the oppression of Tippu's revenue officers led to the rebellion of the Goorkal, a Moplah chief of Manjeri. Unable to suppress him with the soldiers at his command, Arshed Beg Khan, sought Ravi Varma's help. "By messages and promises he prevailed on Ravi Varma to join him", and their united forces were able to put down the rebels. Partly as a reward for this, partly as an incentive to keep the peace, Tippu settled upon him a pension and a jaghir in 1786.

At last, Tippu saw the wisdom of conciliating the Zamorin, and the relations between the two were so far improved that the Erampad, Kishen Rajah, made bold to visit Malabar in the following year. In January, 1788, the Zamorin sent his *Kariakkar*, or minister, Swaminatha Pattar, with Arshed Beg Khan to Seringapattam to negotiate the terms of his restoration¹. In April Tippu himself came to Calicut. But his stay was cut short by the monsoon, and he retired to Coimbatore, requesting the Zamorin to send an envoy to complete the negotiations already set on foot.

The Zamorin sent Kishen Rajah to meet the Sultan. The latter would restore Malabar only on one condition: the Zamorin must assist him in the conquest of Travancore. To escape from the Tiger's grip Kishen Rajah outwardly acquiesced in the proposal. And elated with the success of his diplomacy the Sultan actually gave Kishen Rajah an order on his treasury at Calicut for an advance of money. But as soon as Kishen Rajah found himself safe in Malabar he denounced the treaty and repudiated the agreement.

Tippu's anger knew no bounds. He resolved to wipe out the princes, Nayars and Namputiris, who were capable of such treachery, by their conversion to Islam. In July he sent the converted Rajah of Parappanad and 'Tichera Tiroopar' (the Tirumulpad of Nilambur) to Malabar to use their influence over the Nayars for this purpose.

¹ *The Joint Commissioners' Report*, pp. 35—36.

The Hindus at once rallied round the princes of the Patinbare Kovilakam. The younger Ravi Varma took the lead. Thanks largely to his efforts, upwards of thirty thousand Brahmins escaped to Travancore with their wives and families.¹ In November Tippu's officers laid violent hands upon the Karanavappad of Manjeri. This led Ravi Varma to declare open war and attack Calicut. Tippu sent 6,000 troops under Monlally against him. Though this led to his withdrawal from Calicut, the Mysoreans were not able to drive him out of the field.

In 1789 Tippu himself came down to Malabar; but it had very little effect on the course of events. In the following year the Sultan invaded Travancore. Its Rajah appealed to the English. They declared war on Tippu and invited the princes of Malabar to join them.

¹ *The Joint Commissioners' Report*, pp. 43—45.

THE ZAMORIN AND THE ENGLISH

The Zamorin was the oldest ally of the English in India. In 1615, Captain Keeling, sent by the East India Company, came to Calicut with a letter to the Zamorin from James I, asking him to grant his subjects all facilities in his dominions. The ruler of Calicut was then engaged in besieging the Portuguese at Cranganore.¹ So the enterprising captain proceeded to this place, had an interview with the Zamorin, and concluded a treaty, with him. According to this, the very first treaty which the English entered into with an Indian prince, it was agreed that the English were to assist the Punturakkon in expelling the Portuguese from Cranganore and Cochln, these two places were to be subsequently occupied by them, the expenses of the war and its spoils were to be shared equally between the two contracting parties, and the English were to have complete freedom of trade throughout his dominions.² But the eyes of the English at this time were turned towards the Archipelago; they were yet to discover the possibilities of the trade with the mainland. So Keeling did nothing to fulfil his part of the contract. Leaving ten men to open a ware-house at Ponnani and Calicut, he sailed away.

A factory was founded at the latter place on March 22. From the very start, however, ill-luck pursued it. The chief of the factory died. One of the Englishmen either deserted to the Portuguese or was captured by them. And there was no demand for the wares offered for sale. So the factory was closed.

But the hostility of the Dutch in the Archipelago, culminating in the massacre of Amboyna, compelled the English to

¹ See page 214 *supra*.

² The text of this treaty is given by Day in *The Land of Perumals*, page 177.

fall back upon the mainland. Thus, after nearly half a century, in 1684, they re-appeared in the Malabar coast. The Zamorin, smarting under the treacherous behaviour of the Dutch, who had coolly assumed the role of the Portuguese at Cochin in direct contravention of all their treaty obligations, welcomed them to his dominions. He not only exempted them from the payment of all export duties except on pepper,¹ but, as a mark of his special favour, agreed to give the Chief of the factory an annual present of 1,000 Fanams and 2 manillas, one costing 400 Fanams and the other 50.² The presence of the English at Calicut was so repugnant to the Dutch that they resolved to "employ every means and make every effort to have the English expelled from the land of the Zamorin."³ But every attempt made by them to effect an estrangement between the allies tended only to bring them closer and cement their friendship. In 1691, the Dutch ceded Chetwai to the Zamorin, and to their intense mortification he allowed the English to open a ware-house there.

"The proximity of Tellicherry to the finest pepper and cardamom lands in Malabar"⁴ led the English to shift their headquarters to this place. But this did not in any way impair their friendship. On the other hand, in 1699, the Zamorin allowed them a reduction of 25% in the duty on pepper⁵. So influential and respected did they become at Calicut that, according to Hamilton, "if any debtor went into their factory for protection none durst presume to go there to disturb them".⁶ In the wars with the Dutch they helped the Zamorin in various ways so much so that, in 1710, he allowed them to compel all natives

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 1.

² *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XVII—A, p. 18.

³ Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 40.

⁴ *The Gazetteer of Malabar*, p. 55.

⁵ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 2.

⁶ Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 318.

to prove the value of the articles supplied by them, whenever they had reason to complain, by the ordeal of the boiling oil ¹.

But, unfortunately, the war, in which the English had been so serviceable, ended disastrously for the Zamorin, and he had to cede Chetwai to the Dutch. This was a great loss to the factors, though not to the Company, if Hamilton could be believed. According to him, Chetwai was a milch cow for his countrymen in Malabar. "For the Chiefs of Calicut," says he ², "for many years had vended between 500 and 1,000 chests of Bengal opium yearly up in the inland countries, where it is very much used. The water carriage up the river being cheap and secure, the price of opium high, and the price of pepper low, the profits were great both ways".

Mr. Adams, the head of the English factory in this period, who had been brought up in Malabar from his childhood and who spoke Malayalam like a son of the soil, had such a complete ascendancy over the Zamorin that his enemies held him responsible for the wars with the Dutch ³. But, as has been already described ⁴, the Zamorin needed no instigation to attempt to recover Chetwai, which commanded one of the only two practicable routes to Cochin. Of course Mr. Adams did all he could to help him in the war. He lent him money to the extent of 5,76,492 Fanams on his own responsibility ⁵, supplied him with whatever munitions and other war-material he required on advantageous terms, and allowed him to send provisions to the beleaguered garrison at Chetwai under cover of the English flag.

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc*, p. 3.

² Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, pp. 317-318.

³ Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter III,
Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol I,
p. 315.

⁴ See page 228 *supra*.

⁵ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. III, p. 72.

So the Zamorin gave him permission to erect a factory there¹, though the subsequent cession of Chetwai to the Dutch robbed the concession of all its value, and allowed him to export timber, planks, cables and cordage duty free². The English, in fact obtained the most-favoured-nation treatment. The French were not allowed to settle on the right bank of the Chetwai³, which the Zamorin still held, or enter the Kctta river⁴. The prerogative of wrecks was not extended to English ships⁵. They were protected against the Moors⁶, and generally exempted from duties which the other European nations had to pay⁷. In 1759 they were even allowed to cover their factory with tiles⁸.

The occupation of Calicut by Haidar did not render the Zamorin absolutely powerless to help the English against him and his son, Tippu⁹. Their success against these Muhammadan rulers in South Malabar was in a large measure due to the exertions of Prince Ravi Varma and the Eralpad. But the treaty of Mangalore, concluded in 1784, restored Malabar to Tippu and exposed the Hindus to a religious persecution and suffering unparalleled in the history of any other country. But Nemesis dogged the footsteps of the fanatic Sultan. In 1790 he invaded Travancore, which at once stirred the English to action. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, invited the Malabar princes to join him, promising to render them in future entirely independent of Tippu and to retain them upon reasonable terms under the protection

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 3.

² *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XV, pp. 40—42.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 110, and Vol. XV, pp. 115—117.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 40—42; Vol. XVII—A, p. 76; Vol. XIX, p. 190; Vol. XX, p. 188.

⁸ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 108.

⁹ See page 244 *supra*.

of the Company. To secure their willing obedience he proclaimed his readiness to restore the country to its original rulers for a moderate tribute and valuable commercial monopolies in their respective kingdoms.

In response to this invitation Prince Ravi Varma met General Meadows, Governor and Commander-in-chief of Madras, at Trichinopoly, and settled with him the terms of the Zamorin's co-operation. These were drawn up in the form of the following *Cowlnama*, which was given to Eralpad Kishen Rajah at Coimbatore on the 27th of September.

Cowlnama from His Excellency Major-General Meadows, Governor and Commander-in-chief, etc., etc., on the part of the Honourable Company to Kishen, Zamorin Raja of Calicut.

"Whereas the English Forces have by the blessing of Providence possessed themselves of the fort and district of Palghat and certain adjacent countries of the Malayalam, and design further to extend their possessions in that quarter, and whereas, Kishen, Zamorin Raja of Calicut, has on the present and former occasions evinced firm attachment to the British interests and proved himself useful in supplying their armies, it has therefore been resolved, that the said Zamorin shall be invested, and he is hereby invested with the sole management of all the countries heretofore included in the province of Calicut which are or may be conquered by the British troops.

"The said Zamorin is therefore directed to exert his authority and influence in embodying *Nairmars* of that country and in directing their operations against the common enemy either separately or in conjunction with the British Forces as he may be instructed by the Officer commanding in that quarter.

"He is to exert himself in establishing magazines in such places as he may be required to collect them, and in supplying, as far as may be practicable, everything necessary for the prosecution of the war, for which regular receipts will be given, and the amount daily accounted for at its conclusion.

"This instrument to which strict obedience is enjoined by all, whom it may concern, is to be considered as a Cowl Nama and authority for administering the revenues during the present war, and at its successful conclusion by the favour of the Almighty, the Murassie or right of inheritance of the said Zamorin and of every Raja, Zemindar and Polygar shall be strictly examined and justly determined to the rightful inheritor agreeable to established custom, and then also the Peiscush to be paid to the Honourable Company shall be equitably adjusted. Given under my hand and seal at Coimbatore, the twenty-seventh day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

(Signed) W. MEADOWS,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief. ¹

With the help of the redoubtable Ravi Varma and his followers it was not at all a difficult task to clear Malabar of the Mysoreans. And a simultaneous invasion of Mysore from the east and the west forced the Sultan to sue for peace. By the treaty of Seringapatam, finally concluded on March 18, 1792, Malabar was ceded to the English.

The exiles returned to their homes in the hope of being restored to their respective territories in accordance with the promises held out by the Governor-General in his despatches of April 6 and May 31, 1790 ². Lord Cornwallis sent General Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, to Malabar, to come to an immediate agreement with the Rajahs for some specific revenue for the ensuing year and recommend a suitable form of government for the newly-annexed province. On April 20 he arrived at Cannanore, and appointed Mr. Farmer and Major Dow as Commissioners—with whom two officers to be sent from Bengal by the Governor-General were also to be associated—to preserve the peace of the country, to settle the amount of the tribute and to collect materials for a report on the most eligible

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, pp. 86—87.

² Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 463.

system of establishing the Company's authority on the coast.¹ Unfortunately, none of these Rajahs except the Zamorin made any representation on the basis of the Governor-General's letters, and they lost their case by default.

The Commissioners were not prepared to assume the government of the country all at once. They were far too sensible of the difficulties that might arise from the attachment of the people to their former rulers and from their own ignorance to introduce all at once brand-new methods of government or revenue assessment in a country, "where every man went not only armed but for the most part with those arms ready drawn in hand for instant assault or defence, as interest or passion might dictate". Their general plan was, therefore, to utilise the influence of the Rajahs and their knowledge of their respective kingdoms for one year to maintain peace and collect revenue. Accordingly, making settlements with the Rajahs of Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kadattanad, they came to Calicut in May.

In the meanwhile, the Zamorin had come to Chowghat, and formally celebrated his *Ariyittuvalcha* in April. Sickness due to old age and the insecurity of the country due to the Moplah banditti, who infested the roads, prevented him from immediately meeting the Commissioners. He sent the Munalpad with his minister, Swaminatha Pattar, to settle with them at Calicut.

The dilatoriness of the Zamorin's movements was extremely distasteful to them. Their minds had already conceived a prejudice against him on account of "his enthronement or coronation without the concurrence or assent of any officer of the Company's Government"². And interpreting his delay as due to a desire to evade a settlement, they had leased Payyanad, Payyoramala, Kilakkumpuram, Vatakkunpuram and Pulavayi for one year to Vira Varma of Kurumbranad.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 478. ² *The Joint Commissioners' Report*, p. 66.

When at last the Zamorin's representatives made their appearance they found it no easy task to settle with them. For, the Munalpad took his stand on the *Cowlnama* of 1790, and demanded the restoration of his chief to his former territories. In fact, ever since it was granted, the princes of the Zamorin's family had been conducting themselves as independent Rajahs, collecting revenue, administering justice, and making war upon their enemies. Ravi Varma, in particular, who was chiefly instrumental in getting the *Cowlnama*, proclaimed a general war against the Muhammadans after the expulsion of Tippu's forces in 1791 to wipe off the memory of the dark days of 1788.¹ And when the Commissioners arrived at Calicut "all the Rajahs of the (Zamorin's) family bound themselves by oath to adhere to each other, and to stand out on the ground of the *Cowl* granted by General Meadows to Kishen Rajah, claiming at last all their ancient rights as the condition of their accepting of any change."²

The Commissioners, whose minds were not perhaps wholly free from the resentment caused by the Zamorin's celebration of his installation ceremony without their assent and his subsequent delay in sending his agents to meet them, viewed the question from the stand-point of immediate revenue and expediency rather than of abstract justice. During the Mysorean occupation the old order had completely changed. The Hindus in general and the Nayars in particular had sunk in social and political importance, while the Moplahs had risen in status and influence. To put back the hands of the clock after the lapse of nearly twenty years would be tantamount to another revolution. The authority of the Zamorin could not be restored in a moment; nor could it be done in the circumstances of the time without an army. Further, the Zamorin's ministers could not be trusted to use their power with moderation; for, returning

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64. ² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

to the country after twenty years of exile, they could not be expected to suppress those feelings of hatred and anger, which were sure to be engendered by memories of past suffering and aggravated by the sight of their ruined and desecrated homes and temples. The Commissioners found that the Zamorin could not exercise his former authority and maintain peace in the country without the intervention of the Company's forces, while the Company's officers would have to be ever vigilant to prevent the oppression of the Moplahs by his agents and servants. The Company, in fact, would have to shoulder all the responsibilities of government without any of its advantages. So, as early as the 27th of May, even before they had met the Zamorin's accredited envoys, they had made up their minds against his restoration. ¹

The Munalpad would not easily yield. For two months negotiations went on between him and the Commissioners, who "adopted every proper means to destroy in the public mind those lofty notions of their (the princes') hereditary and full right to sovereignty, which the Zamorin or Samoory and the princes of his family had recently attempted to set up and promulgate". ² At last, at the end of July, the Zamorin gave way. Acting on the advice of his favourite minister, Swaminatha Pattar, he "finally abandoned his lofty pretensions, and delivered a representation setting forth, that, although he had hoped on the foundation of the *Cowl*, to have been restored to all his countries, yet, as he now learnt that the Company's Government considered them as theirs, and had (as he was advised) relinquished Coimbatore to preserve Malabar, by the defence of which much expense, he acknowledged, would be incurred, he is therefore content to collect the revenue and to govern the country, in such manner as the Government may think fit, happy to live under their protection, and trusting to their bounty for everything." ³

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79. ² *Ibid.*, p. 80. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

The Zamorin having thus acquiesced in their proposals in respect of his position and status, they proceeded to arrange the terms of a settlement with him. An agreement for one year, which formed the basis of all subsequent proceedings, was signed on August 18, 1792.¹

Article 1 opens with the names of the districts leased to him. They were:—

- in Calicut—the Cusba and Ramnad;
- in Kurumbranad—Vatakkumpuram and Kilakkumpuram, (which Vira Varma readily gave up to the Zamorin);
- in Bettettunad—Ponnani, Cheranad, and Venkattakotta;
- in Chowghat—Chowghat, Nedunganad and Karimpula;
- in Ernad—Ernad and Malappuram;
- in Palghat—Kollengode, Koduvayur and Mankara.

These districts together with the sea and land customs were delivered to him from Kanni 1, 978 M. E. (September—October 1792) “with full powers to make the collections, to administer justice and all other rights, ceded by Tippu Sultan, to the English Company”. In return the Zamorin agreed to pay Rs. 4,16,366-1-0 in three instalments as follows. —

Rs 1,50,000 on Dhanu 1;

Rs 1,36,366-1-0 on Minam 1; and

Rs 1,30,000 on Mithunam 1.

Article 2 provides for the appointment of Inspectors by the Company to ascertain the exact amount levied and collected in the aforementioned districts and customs offices.

Article 3 directs the payment of the revenue of the Rajahs of Bettet, Beypore and Parappanangadi through the Zamorin, who is, however, not to interfere with them in any way.

Article 4 vests the administration of justice in these kingdoms in the Zamorin as in times past, subject to the regulations which the Company might make in this behalf.

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc*, pp. 160—163.

Article 5 directs the preparation of a fuller and more detailed account of the value of the districts leased to him.

Article 6 abolishes the military service of the Nayers and imposes upon their land the *jumma* settled by Tippu.

Article 7 confirms the confiscation of the rent-free lands by Haidar and Tippu, and prohibits their restoration.

Article 8 obliges the Zamorin to submit to the regulations that might be made for the better government of the country and the improvement of its revenue.

Article 9 requires him to obtain the previous consent of the Company for the appointment of his ministers, officers and tax-collectors and to dismiss them for misbehaviour.

Article 10 provides for the collection of the arrears of the current year.

Article 11 secures to the Company the monopoly of the pepper trade in his dominions.

Article 12 reserves to the Company the liberty to withhold its protection for any breach of faith on the part of the Rajahs.

Finally, Article 13 appoints the Kilakke Kovilakam Rajah as security for the performance of these agreements, and vests him with the necessary power and control over the general management of the country and the collection of the revenues.

With regard to the mint also an agreement for one year was executed. The Zamorin at first offered Rs 12,000, and even wished to have its profits made over to him altogether for his support. The Commissioners demanded Rs 30,000. At last, a compromise was reached, and the Zamorin agreed to pay Rs 15,000¹.

On January 9, 1793, the Commissioners forbade the collection of presents in any form on any occasion, strictly enjoining upon the Rajahs not take anything more than the settled *jumma*.² On March 30 Malabar was divided into two administra-

¹ *The Joint Commissioners' Report*, p. 91.

² Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 172.

tive charges, immediately presided over by a Superintendent each at Tellicherry and Cherplacherry, under the ultimate control of the Supravisor of Calicut.¹

To facilitate their negotiations with the Zamorin for a permanent settlement the Commissioners appointed his minister, Swaminatha Pattar, their sole agent for the purchase of pepper, thus giving him a motive at least to refrain from obstruction, if not actually to use his influence over his master on their behalf. After propitiating the Brahmin minister in this manner, they proposed in pursuance of Article 5 of the agreement, to associate Inspectors with his officers so as to ascertain the taxable capacity of the land, "whence alone an equitable adjustment of the revenue, as well in regard to him and his family, as to the Honourable Company and the public at large could be accomplished." The Zamorin at first objected to this, for he feared that the Company might appropriate the entire revenue of the land without leaving enough for the maintenance of himself and his family. But, "on being assured that this point as to their support was, and ought to be, considered as altogether separate from the discussion as to the amount of the *jumma* (since, whether this was more or less, a suitable maintenance must be allowed to the *Rajahs*)"², he withdrew his objection, and agreed to the institution of a *Canango* establishment to keep the accounts of each district. He was also persuaded to consent to the abolition of all tolls and transit duties and surrender the sea-customs.

But he was not so compliant in the matter of the mint. For, "he considered it not only as being coeval with the sovereignty of his family but as what he conceived he had principally to rely on for a subsistence"³. At last, the parties came to a settlement. The general direction was to remain exclu-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 177—178.

² *The Joint Commissioners' Report* pp. 132—133.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 202—203.

sively with the Company ; the Zamorin's officers were to assist in the details of the business ; and the profits were to be divided equally between the two.

A *Kararnamah* embodying all these was executed on June 29, 1793¹.

The allowances of the *Stanzes* and the Kovilakams were then determined. It was laid down that every part and branch of the family should receive something "as nearly proportionate as possible to their respective receipts under the old Zamorin before the time of Haidar's conquests". Accordingly, it was resolved to set apart for their maintenance twenty per cent of the nett land revenue collections, ten per cent of the gross customs receipts and half the nett profits of the mint².

The Commissioners next proceeded to examine the claims of the Zamorin to control his feudatories. They refused to recognise his authority over Bettem, Kavalappara and Chetwai, reserved their judgment in respect of Pulavayi, and admitted his claim to Payyanad, while he himself renounced Payyormala and agreed to give the Rajah of Punnattur Rs 5,700 every year³.

To expedite the despatch of business with the Zamorin they appointed his chief and favourite minister, Swaminatha Pattar, their own *Diwan* with an allowance of one per cent of the collections from the Zamorin's lands⁴. This proved almost fatal to the Brahmin. For, the brother and nephew of the gallant prince, Ravi Varma, who had come to look upon him as the enemy of their family, despairing of obtaining any relief by an appeal to the Company's officers, who thus evinced a disposition to be led by him, enticed him to their residence at Mankavu, stabbed him on the back and fled to the hills⁵.

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, pp. 189-190.

² *The Joint Commissioners' Report* pp. 270-271.

³ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, pp. 209-210.

⁴ *The Joint Commissioners' Report*, p. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

On January 3, 1795, the Company concluded a new agreement with the Zamorin for five years ¹. But he was not able to pay his dues even for the first year of this quinquennial lease. Not only had the country been impoverished by the wars of the preceding thirty years, but the Zamorin, divested of his ancient authority and shorn of his former prestige, found it difficult to collect the revenue. The Company in consequence temporarily resumed his lands in 1796, giving them back on his furnishing security for the payment of the arrears ². But the troubles in Ernad, due to the rebellion of Attan Gurukkal, led him to surrender it in 1797 ³. Finally, in 1798, he completely relinquished the management of the rest ⁴, which had brought him only trouble, worry and odium.

On July 1, 1800, Malabar was transferred to the Madras Presidency. Six years afterwards, on November 15, 1806, was executed the agreement upon which rest the present political relations between the Zamorin and the English ⁵.

It consists of four articles. Article 1 fixes his annual *Malikhana* or allowance at Rs. 1,32,163—4—0, representing 20 per cent of the nett *jumma* of the lands leased to him by the agreement of 1752, the *jumma* of the year 376 M. E. (A. D. 1800—1801) being taken as the basis. Article 2 says that it shall be payable in quarterly equal instalments at the Cutcherry of the Principal Collector. Article 3 states that it shall be payable only to the receipt of the senior member of each Rajeum or Kovilakam. And Article 4 declares that the *Malikhana* as hereby fixed shall be considered as the security for the good and dutiful behaviour towards the Company's Government of each and every member of the Rajeum or family to which it may now or hereafter be payable.

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, pp. 227—228.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 252—253, 255—256. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 279. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 372—376.

HOW THE EMPIRE WAS GOVERNED

The Zamorin's empire at its zenith included the whole of the west coast from Kollam to Kollam, that is, from Pantalayin; in the Kurumbranad Taluk of British Malabar to Quilon in the Travancore State. In the interior his sway extended as far as the Ghats. In British Malabar the territory under his rule comprised the southern half of Kurumbranad, the whole of Calicut, Ernad and Ponnani, Nedunganad in Valluvanad, and Mankara and Natuvattam in Palghat. Beyond British Malabar he ruled over the whole of the present Cochin State and Alangad, Parur and Chittur. The chiefs of Bembanad (Vatakkankur and Tekkankur), Kayamkulam and Venad used to pay him tribute and send flags of fealty to the *Mamakam* in token of their loyalty.

The government was in form an autocracy. There were no recognised organs in the state, like the British Parliament, capable of effectively controlling the Zamorin.¹ But, at the same time, he was not a despot like the Pathan Sultans or the Mughal Emperors. His privileges and responsibilities, no less than the obligations and rights of his subjects, were strictly defined by usage and precedent. Logan calls it *Maryada*, *Margam Acharam*, all signifying established rule and custom.² But the phrase which most clearly expresses it and which occurs in almost all the royal writs and *sunnads* recognising succession is *Kilnalil* or *pantu ulla vannam*, that is, as in times past.

Succession was regulated by the *Marumakkattayam* law, according to which the oldest male member traced through the female becomes the chief. In communities governed by this law regencies due to non-age could only be a very rare occurrence.

¹ The two attempts of the Lokar to impose their will on the Zamorin, one recorded in 1634 and the other in 1746, cannot be regarded as the normal functioning of a regularly constituted constitutional authority.

² Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 110.

and in the history of the Zamorins there had been no occasion to set up such a regency. When the head of the state could not discharge his functions due to old age or sickness he did not retire into religious seclusion, as was the practice at Cochin; ¹ the Eralpad or the heir-apparent ruled the country in his name as in 1670. Succession of women was also unknown. Adoption was resorted to not only for the continuance of the family, as in 1706, ² but also for providing for the succession to the *Stanams*, as in 1550 ³

The *Ariyittuvalcha* or the formal installation of the new Zamorin generally took place in continuation of the *Tiruvantali* or funeral ceremonies of his deceased predecessor. The new chief did not at his accession take any oath similar to that taken by the king of England. The solemn injunction of the Alvancheri Tamprakkal to protect cows and Brahmins resembles rather the admonition of the *Purohita* at the enthronement of the Vedic king than the coronation oath of the Christian kings.

The Zamorin's consort was dignified by the title of *Naittiyar*. She could not assume it, however, before it had been formally conferred upon her⁴ This honour entitled her to the privilege of having long-handled lamps carried before her whenever she went out.

This brings us to another aspect of the king as the fountain of honour. Besides hereditary distinctions, like Acchan, Kaymal, Patanayar, Paranampi, Menon, Koya, etc., the Zamorin granted also special titles and privileges. The title usually conferred upon the Moplahs was that of *Marakkar*, and the privilege generally coveted by them was

¹ See page 128 *supra*. ² See page 227 *supra*. ³ See page 204 *supra*. ⁴ Thus the Zamorin who succeeded to the *Muppu* in 1588 conferred it upon his consort, Kaitamana Itticchiri Devi, in 1594. In the same way Palancheri Itticchiri Devi received it in 1678. (*The Calicut Granthavari*).

that of wearing a silk turban. The Iluvas, Tiyyas, Asaris or carpenters and smiths received the title of *Muppan*, while fishermen were distinguished by the title of *Arayan*. Among the privileges formally granted by the Zamorin were the wearing of certain kinds of ornaments, the carrying of certain kinds of lamps, the use of special conveyances like the palanquin, and the right of having cloth spread on the ground to walk on. The right of covering the roof with tiles was a privilege vouchsafed only to a few favoured individuals.¹ It was customary, when such honours were conferred, for the recipients to offer a *Kalcha* or present to the sovereign, and make suitable payments to the officers and servants of the household.

Till the conquest of Cochin Calicut remained the seat of the Zamorin. But, with the expansion of his empire southwards, the necessity for a more central capital was felt, and Ponnani became his military headquarters. After the outbreak of the war with Cochin and the Portuguese, Trichur became a secondary capital, the Zamorin taking up his residence at first in the Irikkal,² later on in the Vatakkecchira palace. Finally, the wars with the Dutch in the seventeenth century obliged him to spend a large part of the campaigning season every year at Vattakkotta or Round Fort at Tiruvanchikkulam or Cranganore, which therefore became another secondary capital of the empire.

¹ This was denied, according to Barbosa, to the Cochin Rajah. It was granted to the East India Company in 1759. (Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 108)

² Thus, in 1656, Manappuram Koti offered a present of 2,500 Fanams when he was called *Arayan*. In the same year the Calicut Koya paid 300 Fanams to the Zamorin and 581 Fanams in all to the various members of the household, including even the Ventiammar, for the privilege of wearing a silk turban.

³ *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 534.

Pyrard de Laval's description of the daily life of the Zamorin has not been surpassed for minuteness and accuracy by any other foreign writer. "When the king rises in the morning," says he, ¹, "as soon as he sees the sun he prostrates himself before it with a fixed regard, holding his hand over his head, and opening and shutting them three times. After that he straightway rubs his body all over with odoriferous oil ²; this lasts about an hour, and then he goes to bathe in one of the ponds of the palace close. After being well-bathed and well-dried, his valet takes some colours and powdered (sandal) wood, with other odorous drugs, mixed with scented water, and applies the same to his forehead and to his body above the waist.

"When he comes forth from his bath he most often goes to the temple, and thence to his food in another palace within the same enclosure, which is a part of the grand palace, devoted entirely to that purpose. While he takes his repast he sits upon a piece of well-polished wood, and eats of balsam and leaves, like the other Bramenies. He never eats either flesh or fish, or anything that has had life, for he is of the Brameny caste and wears the cord like the rest. He eats nothing but rice, cooked with milk, butter and sugar, and divers kinds of broths made with vegetables, herbs, melons, cucumbers and other fruits, such as water-melons *etc.* What remains of his meals is cast to the crows and other birds ³.

¹ *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, pp. 416-418.

² *Vayarattam*. See page 20 *supra*.

³ The close of the royal meal is announced by what is known as *Chirutavili* or the calling of *Chiruta*, which must have been originally the name of the woman whose privilege it was to remove the leaves. Strangers not aware of this custom, are likely to be surprised, sometimes even shocked, by the long, sonorous, but by no means musical drone that follows the royal repast.

"He takes his food at noon. After his dinner he despatches his business, and then changes his apartment, going to another prepared for him to receive all new-comers; and it is not that wherein he sleeps, takes his leisure or eats. Here he is, as it were, exposed to public view, and if any would speak with him he may; if no affairs present themselves he passes the time with his lords, and is much amused with buffoons and mountebanks, whereof he has always a goodly number. The Nair kings and lords often play a game of chance, which is a kind of chess, played with dice. He takes pleasure also in seeing the Nairs fence with one another with sword and buckler

"As for the queen (his consort) she lives in a separate palace, yet within the same enclosure as the great palace. She never eats with the king, and is seen but rarely, and then only at the windows and galleries of her palace or of the king's whither she frequently proceeds by a gallery which communicates between the two and there they see each other in private".

The Zamorin's palace at Calicut was completely destroyed in 1766, when Haidar attacked it. Nevertheless, from the accounts of Abdur Razak, Varthema and Laval we can form some idea of its grandeur. The room where Abdur Razak, the Persian ambassador, waited upon the Zamorin was large. "The hall", says he ¹, "was filled with two or three thousand Hindus; the principal personages amongst the Mussalmans were also present. After they had made me take a seat, the letter of His Majesty the Happy Khakhan, was read, and they caused to be passed in procession before the throne the horse, the pelisse, the garment of the cloth of gold and the cap to be worn at the ceremony of Nauruz".

"The palace of the king", says Varthema ², "is about a mile in circumference. The walls are very low with very beautiful divisions of wood, with devils carved in relief".

¹ Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 18.

² *The Itinerary of Ludovic Vrrthema*, p. 62.

Laval seems to have been impressed with its elegance and beauty. He describes it ¹ "as very handsome and well-built, all enclosed with good walls and moats with draw-bridge to the gates, and with water all round in the moats. It consists of blocks of houses, all detached and well-built, of many storeys and galleries, with flower-beds and orchards, tanks, fish-ponds and canals, all fitted and paved with stones, and constructed on all sides of stone steps leading to the bottom. Add to these many springs and fountains, whose water is cold and excellent to drink. In the palace too is a magazine or arsenal, full of arms, powder, and munitions of war.

"A large number of soldiers day and night guard the gates, which are four in number. They admit no one unless he is well-known, nor such a one without questioning him, and conduct him or have him conducted to the part of the interior whither he desires to proceed. If he wishes to speak with the king, he is passed from one guard to another, until he arrives at the door of the apartments where is stationed what you might call the body-guard, and these gain him speech of the king. I have said that there are four gates at the four great entrances; but before reaching the apartments of the king you have to pass three gates on each avenue, and at all points soldiers are on guard, without counting those at the doors of the king's apartments. Besides all these guards, there is a strong body in the middle of the palace, in a covered place built expressly for the purpose, and all the other guards take their orders from this one. Overhead is a great bell, which only sounds for the assembling of men-at-arms at the palace or about the king, when he hath need of them. At all the gates of the palace there are spaces with closed barriers and palisades round about, for fear lest the crowd should approach the gates".

The Zamorin was assisted in the work of government by four chief ministers called *Sarvadhi Kariakkars* and a number of lesser ministers called *Kariakkars*. "During the government

¹ *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, pp. 409-413.

of the *Tamuris*," says Buchanan,¹ "the business of the state was conducted, under his authority, by four *Savadi Carigars*, whose offices were hereditary, and certain inferior Carigars, appointed and removed at the pleasure of the sovereign. The *Savadi Carigars* are, 1st *Mangatachan*, a *Nayar* of the tribe called *Sudra*; 2nd *Tenancheri Elliadi*, a *Brahman*; 3rd *Bermamuta Panyary*, also a *Sudra Nayar*; and 4th *Paranambi*, a *Nayar* of the kind called *Nambichan*. The inferior *Carigars* managed the private estates, or *Cherical* lands, of the *Tamuri* and collected the revenues."

Mangat Acchan was the prime minister. His original seat was Chattodattu Idom in Vattoli; and he enjoyed the title of *Valunnavar* under the Rajahs of Kottayam in North Malabar. One of these Rajahs had *Sambandham* with a Tampuratti of the Zamorin's family, and the services of Mangat Acchan were permanently transferred to Nediyruppu. One tradition has it that he was a fellow-pupil of the first Zamorin. In the *Keralolpatti* he appears as the tutor of the founder of the *Svarupam* under the name of Toduvakkalattu Unnikkumara Nampiyar. When Cheraman Perumal was about to leave his kingdom he gave his sword to the Zamorin and conferred upon the Nampiyar, who was standing by his side, the title of Mangat Rariccha Menon, and commanded the secretaries of Trippappur, Perumpatappu and Kolattiri to yield place to him². He had to be present at the court for all important ceremonies. He governed the kingdom during the interval between the death of one Zamorin and the *Ariyittuvalcha* of his successor. At the *Ariyittuvalcha* he, or at his direction the Olukil Menon, read the *Granthavari*, and one of the first acts of the new Zamorin was to reappoint him³. On the last day of the *Mamukham*, he had to lead the *Akampatijanam* to

¹ Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Malabar and Canara*, Vol. II, p. 83.

² *The Keralolpatti*, pp. 51, 74, 75, 76.

³ See pp. 23—29 *supra*.

the Zamorin's *dais* to make their obeisance¹. Many stories are told about the wisdom and ability of Mangat Acchan. In fact, the greatness of the Zamorin was in part due to the loyal and faithful services of this minister².

Tamme or Dharmottu Panikkar was the hereditary instructor-in-arms. He belonged to Tiruvegappara. He was in charge of the Zamorin's *Kalari* or gymnasium, where the young princes received their military training. According to tradition, the first Manavikraman and the then head of the Panikkar's family had also been fellow-pupils, and when Manavikraman became independent, the friend and companion of his boyhood was entrusted with the military education of his brothers and nephews. The Dutch hated the Panikkar as the cause of the Zamorin's attack on them in 1715, and even made him consent, in the treaty of 1718, to his perpetual banishment from the court. They could have as well asked the Zamorin to part with his eyes as to get rid of Acchan and Panikkar. The Panikkar was and is still indispensable for the *Ariyittuvalcha*. After worshipping the Bhagavati and the Cheraman Sword the Panikkar has to invest the new Zamorin with his sword³.

Tinayancheri Elayutu was one of the two Brahmin ministers of the Zamorin. His ancestral *illom* or house was at Murayur, near Nediyruppu. As neighbours the members of this family were from the first entertained by the Zamorin in his service. The murder of one of these Elayutus by Kariyur Mussad, who held the same place at the Vellatri's court as Tinayancheri held at Calicut, led to the war which resulted in

¹ See p. 117 *supra*.

² Now he receives from the Zamorin an annual pension of Rs 57-2-4.

³ See p. 22 *supra*. The Panikkar now gets from the Zamorin an annual pension of Rs. 102-14-0.

the annexation of Pantalur and the Ten Kalams¹. He took an active part in the siege of the Portuguese fort at Calicut.² As a Brahmin he enjoyed liberties and privileges which were denied to Acchan and Panikkar. At the *Ariyittuvalcha* he had, and still has, to hold the silver saucer from which the three Namputiris of Pumulli, Kinangat and Varikkumancheri took the consecrated rice to pour on the Zamorin's head³.

The Paranampis were also Brahmins. They belonged to Westhill. Pleased with the devotion and loyalty of a member of this family, the Zamorin conferred upon him as a hereditary distinction the title of *Varakkal Paranampi*. He also ordered him, according to the traditions preserved in the family, to adopt the *Marumakkattayam* system, thinking that virtues and talents were transmitted to the offspring more easily through the mother than through the father. One of the members of this family conquered Malappuram, which earned for him and the members of his *Taivali*, or branch traced through the mother the title of *Malappuram Paranampi*.⁴ The Nampis were generally in charge of the treasury and accounts, though some of them seem to have held the important governorships of Calicut and Ponnani.

The Eralpad ruled Nedumganad. Like the Zamorin he had also his own officers. Cheruli Acchan was his secretary and chief minister, and Punnasseri Nampi his treasurer.

A distinction was observed between these ministers and the *Naduvalis* or the governors of *Nads* or districts, though both held their offices by hereditary right. While the ministers, like the *Naduvalis*, had to obtain the recognition of the Zamorin in the form of a writ or *sannad* before they could succeed to their predecessor's place, in theory their appointments ceased with the death of the Zamorin, as being attached to his person, and therefore had to be renewed at the *Ariyittuvalcha* by his successor.

¹ See page 121 *supra*. ² See page 198 *supra*. ³ See page 28 *supra*. ⁴ See page 121 *supra*.

The *Naduvalis* paid *Purushantaram* or succession fee, which depended upon the size of their *Nads* or territories in their charge. Thus, the Kutiravattam Nayar, one of the biggest *Naduvalis*, paid 11,500 Fanams, while lesser *Naduvalis*, like Chalappurattu Nalamkur Nayar or Mulanha Patanayar, paid only 3,000 Fanams.

The royal writs recognising succession were simple or elaborate according to the rank and status of the *Naduvali*. The following is a *sannad* of the former type :—

‘ The Royal Writ to Chalappurattu Nalamkur Nayar.

“ From the month of Tulam in 775 M. E., Jupiter residing in *Cancer*, We hereby command you to do all that had been done, as in times past, by your *Karanavan*.

Dated 15th Tulam 775 M. E. ”

The *sannad* granted to the Kutiravattattu Nayar was more elaborate. It ran as follows :—

“ The Royal Writ to Kutiravattam.

“ From the month of Makaram 825 M. E., Jupiter residing in *Libra*, We hereby recognise and appoint you as *Karanavan*. Therefore, We hereby command you to protect and maintain, as had been done in times past, the Lord of Tiruvilvamala, Champankulangara Ayyappan, Vengnad Appicchi, Palaccheri Vellalar, Ancharaccheri Chettis, and the three families of Iluvar. Therefore, protect and maintain all these, as had been done by your *Karanavans* in days gone by.”

Besides *Purushantaram*, the *Naduvalis* sent also presents on the occasion of important ceremonies at the court and the two great national festivals of *Onam* and *Vishu*. They were also required to repair to the court for *Tiruvantali* and *Ariyittuvalcha*, for which they received both travelling and halting allowances¹, and to be present at Tirunavayi for the *Tai-Puvam* and *Mamakam* festivals, at which some of them had important

¹ Thus, Karakkattu Muttavan received 64 Fanams, Vayyavinattu Nampati 52, Chalappurattu Nayar 20, and Ernad Menon 100. (*The Calicut Granthavari*).

duties to perform¹. The primary obligation of a *Naduvali* was, however, to attend the field, when summoned, at the head of the quota of Nayars assigned to him.

Whenever the family of a *Naduvali* was threatened with extinction he was allowed to adopt heirs and heiresses. But it had to receive the previous assent of the king. The following is a *sannad* of adoption;—

“Royal Writ to Tarakkal Unnikkittan.

“We do hereby appoint and constitute Kilur Eroman, Sankaran, Krishnan, Eromman, Unikkantan, Itti Unni Raman, Itti Chiri Devi and the children born of her as your *Anantaravans*. Therefore, from the 15th of Dhanu, 851 M. E., Jupiter residing in *Sagittarius*, We command you to live together as *Karanavan* and *Anantaravans*.

“From Our camp at Cherukottu, dated the 15th of Dhanu, 851 M. E.”

The *Naduvlis* exercised, though in a lesser degree, all the powers of their sovereign in their respective *Nads*. “The *Naduvali*,” says Munro,² “had a large share of almost every branch of the Rajah’s revenue. He had customs at an inferior rate, all fines under Rs 4, the property of all persons on his own lands dying without heirs not exceeding Rs 30, and on the lands of others when it did not exceed Rs 15, and a variety of other dues. He was the chief police and judicial officer of the district, and in these capacities he had a share of all confiscations of the property of offenders and of the fees of all suits brought before him.

“He was the military chief of his district, and was bound to attend the Rajah in the field or march wherever he was directed with all the fighting men of his district under the *Desavalis* or heads of their respective villages. It was also his duty in

¹ See pages 113—114 *supra*.

² Sir Thomas Munro, *Report on the Judicial System in Malabar*, paras 16 and 18.

times of peace to assemble the Nairs of his district to exhibit in the presence of the Rajah a mock (or rather real) fight with the Nairs of another district".

The Zamorin was always on the alert to protect his subjects against the oppression of the *Naduvalli*. His arm was both strong and long enough to punish the most powerful as well as the most distant offender¹.

The feudatory differed from the *Naduvalli* in many respects. The former was a *Svarupi*, the latter a hereditary governor; the former held his land in virtue of Cheraman Perumal's grant, the latter held it from the Zamorin; the Zamorin never interfered with the internal administration of the former, while he kept an ever vigilant eye on that of the latter, who was never allowed to escape the consequences of his misrule; lastly, the rebellion of the former entailed only an amercement, while that of the latter death and forfeiture.

The following were at one time or other the feudatories of the Zamorin :—

(1) Kottayam or Puranattukara; (2) Kurumbiyatiri or the Rajah of Kurumbranad; (3) Bettem or Tanur; (4) Pappu Kovil or Chaliyam; (5) Reppu Kovil or Beypore; (6) Parappu Kovil or Parappanad; (7) Tirumanasseri; (8) Kakkat, Talappalli or Punnattur; (9) Chittur; (10) Elangallur or Idappalli; (11) Patinhattedam; (12) Patinhattedattu Kovil or Oranganore; (13) Venganaad or Kollengode; (14) Perumpatappu or Cochin with its

¹ In 1678 the Nallappata Nayar, the second in rank in the Kutiravattam family, caused one Parangotaccha Menon of Manhalur to be killed. The Lokar protested against this high-handedness, according to ancient custom, by carrying the corpse to the residence of the Nayar and leaving it there. Thereupon the Nayar set fire to some of their houses. For this the Kutiravattattu Muppil Nayar, who ought to have kept his fiery *Anantaravan* in check, was made to pay a fine of 5,000 Panams and surrender an elephant. (*The Calicut Grantha-vari*).

vassals, (15) Parur or Vintanikottam and (16) Purakkad; (17) Vattakkankur; (18) Tekkankur; (19) Kayamkolam; (20) and Venad.

In an age when means of communication were not developed, the effective control exercised by the paramount power varied inversely with distance. Further, the obligations of the feudatories depended upon circumstances peculiar to them. On the whole, the Zamorin treated them with liberality and honour; and there is no doubt his treatment of Cochin would have been much better but for the repeated attempts of its Rajah to shake off his dependence. All the vassal chiefs had to obtain the consent of the suzerain for their *Ariyittuvalcha*, though this obligation was very often concealed by the Zamorin himself being present at their installation. The following writ in connexion with Bettam illustrates the claims of the *Melkoyma* or the suzerain power :—

“ Royal Writ addressed to Pakkat Aliyattu Talakkappu.

“ On account of Our having poured rice on Bettettu Mutta Kovil on Vrischikam 26, 825 M. E., We command you to pay 3,000 Fanams to Para Parameswaran (the name of the Treasurer), exclusive of the Fanams due to Us for rice, *etc.*, and for payments to Our *Kariakkars* and servants of the household”.

Like the *Naduvālis* they were expected to pay tribute and *Purushantaram* and bring their Nayars to the field, when commanded. They were also invited to the *Mamakam*. They had no duties, as the *Naduvālis* had, of escort, but were required to send a fealty flag with presents according to their rank and power as an acknowledgement of the Zamorin's suzerainty.

The Zamorin derived his income from many sources. They were collected by the *Kariakkars* of the various *Cherikkals*, who, after meeting the expenses connected with their establishment and those specially assigned to them, paid the surplus to the Treasurer, and submitted their accounts to the *Menokkis* or accountants of the palace. The following writs indicate some of the sources of revenue, and illustrate how they were collected and spent.

I

"Royal Writ to Vallatta Vali Kunhi Kurukkal.

"We hereby appoint you as Our *Sarvadhi*. Therefore, from Makaram 28, 846 M. E., Jupiter residing in *Cancer*, collect what is due to Us from the *Cherikkals*, the dues of the prisons and ports, *Amkam* and *Chunkam*, fines for crimes, and royalties on elephants and the sifting of gold. Collect all that is due to the *Melkoyma*, according to Our orders. And after meeting the expenses of your establishment, and of Panniyur and Chovaram, and of the war between Ernad and Perumpalappu, submit your accounts to Kalattil Krishnan.

II

"To Tarakkal Iracchan.

From the *Cherikkal* of Ponnani Vakke collect interest and rent, *Changatam*, *Amkam*, *Chunkam*, *Purushantaram* and other dues from Kumbham, 851 M. E. After maintaining your establishment and meeting the expenses of the Tirunavayi *Tanam* pay the balance into our treasury and submit your accounts to the *Menokkis* appointed for the purpose".

In a society organised on the feudal model the sole burden upon land was service. Land-tax was unknown in Malabar before the Mysorean occupation. The sources from which the Zamorin derived his revenue were:—

(1) *Cherikkal lands* or the royal estates. These correspond to the crown lands of England. They were held in proprietary right, and it is from the proceeds of these lands that the expenses of the household were chiefly met.

(2) *Amkam* or fee for permitting to hold a trial by battle. This varied according to the means of the parties, and was sometimes as high as 1,000 Fanams.

(3) *Chunkam* or tolls and duties. This was generally 5% *ad valorem* on all imports and exports.

(4) *Ela* or proceeds of kingdoms and estates confiscated for various reasons.

(5) *Kola* or forced contribution for particular emergencies.

(6) *Tappu* or mulcts for unintentional offences.

(7) *Pila* or fines imposed upon law-breakers and criminals.

(8) *Purushantaram* or succession fee, exacted whenever a change in succession took place among the *Naduvallis* and the feudatories.

(9) *Pulayattu pennu* or the proceeds from the sale of leud or adulterous women outcasted by the community.

(10) *Kalcha* or presents. Besides the usual presents for *Onam* and *Vishu*, every one who sought an interview had to offer a present. It depended on the party and the occasion. Thus, when the East India Company's Chief paid a formal visit, he was expected to offer Rs 192 to the Zamorin, Rs 100 to the Eralpad, and Rs 12 to each of the great officers of state like Mangat Acchan, Tinayancheri Elayutu, Paranampi, Tamme Panikkar and Olukil Menon.¹

(11) *Ponnarippu* or the sifting of gold.

(12) *Panamadi* or profits of coinage, which were estimated at about Rs 5,000 before Haidar's invasion.

(13) *Attaladakkam* or the right of escheat on failure of heirs.

(14) *Adimappanam* or the poll-tax paid by the bondsmen.

(15) *Ara* or the fee for keeping a suspect in detention.

(16) *Tura* or the poll-tax levied at the ports from boatmen.

(17) *Changatam*, or fee for special protection in the form of an escort for a long or short period.

(18) *Atinha urukkal* and *Utanha urukkal* or ships which had drifted ashore or which had been compelled to put in at a port which was not their destination and wrecks respectively. These rights were claimed by the Zamorin only against enemy countries and nationalities.

¹ *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. III, p. 101.

(19) *Rakshabhogam* or fee for protection without any time limit.

(20) *Anapṭiti* or royalty on elephants caught in the forests.

(21) Fees levied for conferring titles, honours and other privileges, and for the settlement of disputes.

(22) *Kapṭam* or the annual tribute in cash or kind from the feudatory chiefs, which was regarded more or less as a voluntary offering.

The Zamorin also enjoyed certain perquisites. These were:-

(1) *Aimmula* or cow with five udders.

(2) *Mummula* or cow with three udders.

(3) *Chenkompu* or cattle that had killed a man or animal.

(4) *Kannatapulli* or cattle having a white spot near the corner of the eye.

(5) *Puval* or animal having a white spot at the tip of the tail.

(6) *Kompu* or the tusk of an elephant killed or dead.

(7) *Kuruka* or the leg of a deer, wild hog or other eatable wild animal killed in hunting.

(8) *Val* or the tail of a tiger.

(9) *Toal* or the skin of a tiger or deer.

(10) *Kinattil Panni* or wild hog fallen in the well.

Records and accounts were maintained according to the *Kollam* era, the initial year of which was A. D. 824—825. Its origin, in spite of the numerous attempts¹ made to explain it, remains still a mystery. The first day of the civil year was and is still reckoned in Malabar from the 1st of Kanni, corresponding to the 17th of September. Before the founding of the *Kollam* era the year had been calculated according to the Tamil calendar; this accounts for the *Vishu* or the Tamil New Year Day being celebrated as a national festival in Kerala.

¹ For the vast literature that has accumulated on this subject see page 76, note 4, *supra*, and Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. IV, pp. 265—276. For the Malayalam months see page 105, note 1, *supra*.

The way in which records and accounts were kept at Calicut have won the praise and admiration of Barbosa and Laval. "The King of Calicut," says Barbosa, "continually keeps a multitude of writers in his palace, who sit in a corner far from him; they write upon a raised platform, everything connected with the King's Exchequer and with the justice and governance of the realm. They write on long and stiff palm leaves, with an iron style without ink.....And there are seven or eight more, the King's private writers, men held in great esteem, who stand always before the King, with their styles in their hands and the bundle of leaves under their arms. Each one of them has a number of these leaves in blank, sealed by the King at the top. And when the King desires to give or to do anything as to which he has to provide he tells his wishes to each of these men and they write it down from the Royal seal to the bottom, and thus the order is given to whomsoever it concerns." ¹

Pyrard de Laval gives the following account of the Record Office:— "Hard by (the palace) is a block of buildings allotted to the Secretary and Clerk to the King, for keeping all the registers. The order and system is most admirable herein; and I have oft times wondered to see the great number of men with no other duty or work all day but writing and registering. These posts are of much honour; the clerks all reside in the palace, but in different apartments, and they have different duties. Some make entry of all goods arriving for the king; others the dues and taxes paid day by day; others the expenditure of the king's household; others the most notable incidents of each day, both what happens at court and in the rest of the kingdom; in short, all news, for he has everything registered; and each clerk has his separate room. They keep also a register of all strangers who come there, taking their names and nationalities, the time of their arrival and the business that has brought them, and so they did with us. It is a wondrous thing

¹ *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, pp. 18—19.

to observe their number and the perfect order that exists among them, and how fast they write on their palm leaves." ¹

The Zamorin's army consisted mainly of the feudal levies, brought by the *Naduvalis* and the vassal chieftains. The former were divided into five classes:—the Commanders of 5,000, of 1,000, of 500, of 300, and of 100. ² The Nayars were each paid a Fanam a day when on active service. Standing armies were not entirely unknown. They were kept at important towns like Calicut and Ponnani, and at strategic places, like Chowghat and Chunangad. Their commanders were called *Talacchannavar*.

¹ *The Voyage of pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, pp. 412—413.

² The following were the important *Naduvalis*:—

I Class (*Commanders of 5,000*)

- (1) The Ayyayira Prabhu Kartavu (2) the Ernad Menon
(3) Kutiravattattu Nayar (4) Vayyavinattu Nampati.

II Class (*Commanders of 1,000*)

- (1) Karakkattu Muttavan *alias* Kavalappara Nayar
(2) Periyantamukkil Kilakke Nampati (3) Raman Ullatan
(4) Nallur or Nalla Patanayar.

III Class (*Commanders of 500*)

- (1) Mukkatakkattu Nayar (2) Kannanur Patanayar
(3) Mankara Nayar (4) Puliyakkotte Mutta Nayar (5) Periyanta-
mukkil Patinhare Nampati (6) Tekkum Kuttill Vatakkann Nayar.

IV Class (*Commanders of 300*)

- (1) Kolikkolli Nayar (2) Kottol Patanayakan (3) Irikkalik-
kara Atikaran (4) Vittikkattu Nayar (5) Elampulasseri Nayar
(6) Nedunganad Patanayar (7) Mulanha Patanayar (8) Muriyanad
Patanayar (9) Chenangattu Kulappalli Nayar.

V Class (*Commanders of 100*)

- (1) Tekkum Kuttill Kartavu (2) Tekkum Kuttill Tekke
Nayar (3) Aliparampu Menon (4) Kutallur Talacchannore.

The Zamorin maintained also a cavalry force. It was commanded by the Kutiravattattu Nayar. But it was intended more for display than for war. For the Nayars always fought on foot. It was not till the Mysorean invasions that the necessity for an efficient cavalry capable of swift movements, as contrasted with the slow moving Nayar militia trudging on foot was felt.

Though the use of firearms had been known before the coming of the Portuguese, it was only after their advent that it became the most important factor in deciding the fate of battles. As powder and shot made in the country as well as the guns cast by the indigenous craftsmen were poor in quality the Zamorin employed foreigners like Maria, Antonio¹ and Platt² to manufacture them. He valued his European allies not only for the trade they brought but also for their supply, actual or potential, of gunpowder, balls and firearms. The Moplahs formed the main *corps* of musketeers. But the formal head of the ordnance department was the Brahmin minister, Tinayaucheril Elayutu. He was known as *Vetikkurukkal* or instructor-in firing, and as a mark of this he was given fire and wick at his investiture.

The Zamorin's navy was, like the army, based on feudal principles. Like the *cinque* ports of mediaeval England the coast towns furnished him with ships and other means of water

The Nayars whom the feudatories might be called upon to bring to the field were as follows:—

Kottayam	18,000	Chaliyam	3,000
Kurumbiyatiri	18,000	Beypore	3,000
Kakkat	12,000	Parappanad	3,000
Bettem	4,000	Idappalli	3,000
Kuruva Kovil	4,000	Cranganore	3,000
Tirumanasseri	3,000	Cbittur	1,000
Venganad	1,000.		

¹ See page 173 *supra*. ² *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XVII—A, p. 129.

transport. The ships were manned by the Moplahs, and the members of the family of Kunhali Marakkar were the hereditary Grand Admirals of the kingdom. Every port had a chief pilot or *Tura Marakkar*, whose duty it was to see the ships safely anchored. The Persian ambassador had a very high opinion of the Calicut sailors. "The inhabitants of Calicut", wrote he in 1442¹, "are adventurous sailors, and pirates do not dare to attack the vessels of Calicut". The Portuguese found them using nautical instruments to which they were utter strangers. Unfortunately, the navy was not improved in the light of experience. The ships continued to be smaller in size and inferior in artillery, and incapable of joint action. Irresistible in guerilla warfare and hand-to-hand fighting, the Moplahs could not hold their own against the Europeans in pitched battles, which required combined and organised action rather than reckless valour and fury.

Varthema classifies the ships of his day at Calicut as follows :—(1) *Sambucchis* (*Sambuks*), which were flat-bottomed; (2) *Capels* (*Kappals*), similar to the Portuguese ships; (3) *Paros* (*Patakus*) or small craft; (4) *Almadias* or ferry boats; and (5) *Chaturis* (*Kautuvallans*), propelled by oars and sails².

The administration of justice consisted in the enforcement of the customary law of the community or the country. The duty of the sovereign was to protect the *Dharma* and uphold the *Maryada* or *Acharam* of each caste and locality. These were expounded by the representatives of the people who were qualified by learning and experience. All disputes about land were settled by local *ad hoc* committees called *Panchayats*. Debts were collected by a very simple process. The creditor drew a line on the ground round the debtor, and the latter was

¹ Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 19.

² *The Itinerary of Ludovic Varthema*, p. 62.

not allowed to stir out of it till he had satisfied his creditor. Ludovic Varthema describes it as follows:—"When any one ought to receive money from another merchant, there appearing any writing of the scribes of the king (who has at least a hundred of them), they observe this practice:—Let us suppose the case that some one has to pay me twenty-five ducats, and the debtor promises to pay them many times and does not pay them; I, not being willing to wait any longer, nor to give him any indulgence, shall take a green branch in my hand, shall go swiftly behind the debtor, and with the said branch shall draw a circle on the ground surrounding him, and if I can enclose him in the circle, I shall say to him these words three times: "*Bramini raza porthe polle*"; that is "I command you by the head of the Brahmins and of the king, that you do not depart hence until you have paid me and satisfied me as much as I ought to have from thee". And he will satisfy me, or truly he will die there without any other guard. And should he quit the said circle and not pay me, the king would put him to death"¹.

No one, however high or powerful, was exempted from the operation of this law. Marco Polo mentions the instance of a king who was stopped in this manner by a creditor merchant. The Zamorin did not allow any one to repudiate his debts, and did nothing that had even the slightest tendency to detract from the sanctity of contracts. He allowed the English East India Company to arrest for debt not only Tamme Panikkar and the Rajah of Punnattur but even the Ampati Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti, who was confined to her palace by tying a tuft of green twigs to its gates². The readiness with which the "Mother-Queen" submitted to this process only served to enhance her popularity and prestige. No wonder that in such a kingdom trade flourished and people became prosperous.

The ordinary rate of interest was 12% *per annum*. Penal interest was charged at 1% compound interest *per mensem*. The

¹ *The Itinerary of Ludovic Varthema*, p. 60.

² *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. X, pp. 4, 17, 29, 51.

East India Company seems to have exacted interest on the arrears of revenue at the high rate of 12% *per annum* for the first eight days after the expiration of the *kist*, 24% for the next twenty days, 36% for the next thirty days or 3% per cent *per mensem*, and so on, enhancing the rate by 1% every month¹. But no interest was charged, according to the ancient custom of the country, after the total debt had accumulated to twice the principal sum originally lent².

The administration of criminal justice was very simple. Offences against morality and religion were punished by caste tribunals, the king sending an officer called *Koyma* to prevent the miscarriage of justice and enforce the sentence. Adultery was punished by the excommunication and banishment of all the parties concerned. A typical example of a caste tribunal is to be found in the *Smarta Vicharam* or enquiries into charges of immorality brought against Namputiri women. The court consisted of a *Smarta*, learned in the *Smritis*, two *Mimamsakas* acquainted with the caste-law, the *Aka-Koyma*, who was the local head of the community, and the *Pura-Koyma* or the representative of the ruling power, "whose duty it was to stand with a drawn sword during the trial and keep order"³.

As regards offences against property, our ideas have now completely changed. In olden times people cared more for the recovery and restoration of stolen property than for the punishment of the thief. Most of the crimes entailed only a fine. Imprisonment for a long period was neither awarded nor considered desirable. For, the complainant had to pay the expenses of detention. The offences that merited the death penalty were deliberate murder, the slaughter of cows, assault on a Brahmin or a Nayar by people lower in caste, indecent assault on a woman, and treason against the king. The shedding of

¹ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 249.

² *The Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. II, p. 96.

³ *The Malabar Gazetteer*, pp. 364—365. For a detailed account see Logan, *Malabar Manual* Vol. I, pp. 121—126.

blood in a temple sanctuary¹ and attempts to kill the king² not only led to loss of life but of land and homestead also. Women and Brahmins alone enjoyed immunity from capital punishment. Neither rank nor kinship, neither caste nor office, protected the offender.³

A man accused of crime was summoned before the king's officer. He was questioned about it, and if he denied all knowledge, the complainant was asked whether he would like to put him to the ordeal, the most common form of which was that of the boiling oil or ghee.⁴ To prevent malicious prosecution, if the man was declared innocent the complainant was fined, banished or killed. The ordeal of weighing also was employed⁵; but it was seldom resorted to as it involved much trouble and expense.

In every town justice was administered in the last resort by its *Talicchannavar*. An officer of the palace called the *Koyil Tirutti Karanavar* was responsible for its maintenance in other parts of the kingdom.

¹ See page 48 *supra*. ² In 1762 Tarakkal Eroma Menon, the Variar commander of Chunangad, attempted to kill the Zamorin. In 1763 he was executed in the customary fashion, his lands were confiscated, and his house raised to the ground by elephants sent for the purpose, the women and children being taken under his protection by the Zamorin. (*The Calicut Granthavari*).

³ The Calicut records show that even such ministers of state like Mangat Acchan and Tinayancheri Elayutu were punished for crimes committed by them. According to Laval, even the king's nephew, brother's son (?), was banished for some offence in 1606. (*The Voyage of Pyrrard de Laval*, Vol. I, p. 369).

⁴ Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.*, p. 3.

⁵ Padmanabha Menon, *The History of Kerala*, Vol. II, pp. 267—269.

Barbosa's description of the administration of justice stands unrivalled for its accuracy and richness of detail.

"In the city of Calecut itself", says he, "the King maintains a Governor, who bears the name of Talixe (*Talacchannavar*), a Nayre who holds jurisdiction over five thousand Nayres, to whom he pays the very large revenues assigned to him. He possesses the right of administering justice, but not to such an extent as to free him from rendering an account thereof to the King.....If any of these low persons (who are below the rank of Nayres) commit any crime or theft, or if any person against whom it is committed complain to the said Governor, he sends to arrest him, and if he confesses or is taken in *flagrante delicto*, if he is a heathen, they carry him to a spot where justice is executed, where are many sharp stakes and a small platform through which they pass the point of the stake. Then they behead him with a sword, and then impale him on the stake between the shoulder blades, making it pass out through the belly, and project a cubit or more beyond it, and his head is put on another stake, (and they tie ropes to his legs and arms, and fasten them to four posts, so that the limbs are stretched out, and the body on its back on the stand.—Spanish version). And if the evil-doer is a Moor, they take him to a wide open space and there slay him with sword cuts. The stolen goods are kept with the Governor of the country, the owner has no profit thereof, for the law having done justice on the culprit the owner forfeits his goods. But if the goods are found and the thief takes to flight, the stolen property remains for certain days in the Governor's hands, and if in that time they do not catch the thief, they give back the goods to their owner. Yet a fourth part of their value is kept by the Governor. And if the thief denies his guilt and the goods are not found on him, they take him to a lock-up like ours and keep him there imprisoned for nine or ten days, to see if he confesses, where he is badly fed, and very evilly entreated. And

¹ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, pp. 26-32.

if by the end of that period he has not confessed, then they call upon the accuser and tell him that as the thief will not confess, he must say whether he is to be sworn or whether they shall release him. And if he says that the thief is to be sworn they bring him there in bonds, and tell him that he is to fast and bathe well and commend himself to his god, and that he must not chew betel, and must clean his teeth of it in order to take the oath the next day. If he does so, they bring him out of the prison next day, and take him to a tank where he bathes well with many ceremonies; then they carry him to a house of prayer, and there he takes his oath in this wise.

"If he is a heathen, they heat a copper pot full of oil until it boils (and that they may know when it is very hot they throw into it some leaves of a certain tree, and the oil makes them spring up) and when they see that it is so, two clerks take the evil-doer's right hand, and first looking to see if there is any wound on it or anything else, and the whole state of the said hand, they write it down and show it to him alone; and this examination made, they order him to look upon his idol which is before him and to say three times, "I did not commit the theft of which this man accuses me, nor know I who committed it." Then they order him to put two fingers of the said hand into the boiling oil up to the knuckles, and he at once continues to say that he did not do it and that he will not be burnt. And when he puts in his hand and draws it out, the clerks standing by again look at it, and the Governor does the same, and after all these trials they attest the condition in which the hand is, and tie it up well in a cloth to know whether it is burnt or not. Then they take him back to prison, and thence bring him again after three days to the same place. Then clerks unbind the hand in the Governor's presence, and if they find it burnt he suffers in the manner aforesaid, and they inflict great tortures upon him to force him to confess where he is keeping the stolen goods or what he has done with them, and if he does not confess yet he is still pun-

ished. But if they find his hand whole they free him completely and either slay his accuser or make him pay a fine in money, or banish him. In the same manner they punish him who has slain another, or who has slain a cow, or laid violent hands on a Bramene or Nayre, or has had dealings with a Bramene's wife.

"To Moors they give the oaths thus, they make them lick with the tongue a red-hot axe, and if it is burnt, they take him to an open space, as I have said above, and there slay him with the edge of the sword.

"And if this Governor finds any youths or young men who are vagrant, and have no employment, nor father, nor mother, nor master with whom they dwell, these are forfeit to him, and he sells them as slaves to the Moors, or to any person whatsoever who is willing to purchase them, at a very low price, from three to five cruzados each, whether men or women.

"And as to the Nayres, who are privileged persons, justice is done to them in this wise: No Nayre may be imprisoned or fettered for anything he may do; if a Nayre slays another, or steals, or kills a cow or sleeps with a woman of low degree or eats or drinks in the house of a low-caste man, or sleeps with a Bramene's wife, or openly speaks ill of the King, and a complaint is made to the Governor against him who has committed such a crime, he sends to summon him, and if he does not come he summons three or four Nayres, stout men in their persons, and gives them a warrant signed with his own hand, in which he tells them to slay such and such a Nayre, wheresoever they may find him, for such is his will. These then go in search of him and slay him wheresoever they find him with spear thrusts or arrows, for some of them are such that if they have warning, they will wound three or four before they are killed, and thus they slay him even if they light upon him in the city. When he is killed they lay him with his breast upwards, and upon it they place the warrant, and there they leave him, and no man

is so bold as to touch him, and the fowls of the air and the jackals devour him. If they slay him within the city the dwellers within that street where he lies may not remove him thence unless they first ask for the King's order, and this order the King gives sometimes for money and sometimes by favour. But if such a Nayre has committed a great theft of property, belonging to the King, then they put him into a room very well closed and guarded, so that he may not escape, and then put him to the oath in the manner I have already described, save that in place of oil they heat butter, and if they find him guilty then they convey him to an open spot, and there slay him with sword cuts and spear thrusts.¹

"When the Governor summons the accused they summon at the same time the complainant, and when they are both there they call on him to say all that he knows regarding the other. Then the complainant takes into his hand a small bunch of green grasses or a branch of a tree and says, 'So and so did such and such a thing'. Then the accused takes another like branch and says, 'I did not such and such a thing'. Then the Governor orders that two coins of base gold called Fanams shall be set before each of them, each of which is worth two and twenty *reis*, and and when they have examined them the Governor tells them to return after eight days to establish clearly what each one has said. Then eight days past, they return to the Governor's house, and thence they go to the temple to take the oath I have told above.

"In this Kingdom of Calicut there is a Governor who resembles a chief justice, who is called *Contante Carnáze*, who has his appointed duties in every town. To him is allotted the execution of justice in all cases not liable to the penalty of death, for all other penalties are paid in money. To him they haste with every manner of complaints and wrongs, as to which he must

¹ Sometimes traitors were delivered over to elephants to be trampled upon.

give an account and explanation to the King, and he executes justice on the guilty in like manner to the Governor of Calicut. In this kingdom no woman of what rank soever she may be suffers death by the law, but on evil doers they inflict punishment by fines in money or by banishment."

Detailed as Barbosa's account is, the Portuguese factor has overlooked one important factor—the village and its headman. It was the task of Sir Thomas Munro, who wanted to build upon the foundation of ancient institutions, to appreciate and reveal the important played by the *Desam* and its headman, the *Desavali*, in the social and political life of the people.

"The village in Malabar," says he "was called the *Desam*. The headman was called the *Desway* or *Jelmiwar*, as he enjoyed the whole or only a part of the rights which were supposed necessary to the constituting the complete chief of the *Desam*. These rights were as follows:— (1) The *Ambalpuady* or the direction of the religious ceremonies of the village pagoda; (2) *Ooraimah* or the management of the pagoda lands and servants; (3) *Desmi* or the control of marriages and all village ceremonies, none of which could be performed without his leave; and (4) *Desadeput* or the general superintendence of all affairs of the *Desam* or village. ¹

"The *Desway* had the direction of all the affairs of the village; all orders regarding them were sent to him to be carried into effect. Where there was no regular land rent, he could not have much employment as a revenue officer; but he assisted in the collection of occasional contributions as well as of fines, forfeitures, and other dues of Government. He was the military chief of the village, and marched at the head of its quota when ordered to the field, and he had the direction of the police and the power of deciding petty disputes. In police and judicial matters he was aided by two or three respectable inhabitants, who were called *Pramanis* ².

¹ Munro, *The Report on the Judicial system in Malabar*, para. 7. ² *Ibid.*, para. 9.

"There were usually from one to five or six *Pramanis* to a *Desam* or village, but in some villages none. They were all of the superior castes, but chiefly Nairs—any respectable man in the village, who was considered as more intelligent than his neighbours and who was on that account resorted to by the inhabitants for the adjustment of their little differences gradually acquired among them the title of *Pramani*. The plaintiff in the first instance generally applied to the *Pramani*, who assembled the other *Pramanis* of the village, if there were any, or if not he sent for those of the neighbouring villages, who always came, as he in his turn attended their summonses. Those who were called were such as both parties had previously agreed their suit should be decided by. No writing was employed in the proceedings - a *Kurrarnamah* founded upon the proceedings was all that was necessary. The *Pramanis*, where no opposition was made, acted of themselves without any reference to the *Desway*. If the defendant refused to attend they applied to the *Desway*, who sent for the defendant, directed the *Pramanis* to try the cause in his own presence, and decided upon their report. If the parties required it he associated two or three of the inhabitants with the *Pramanis* to form the court or *Panchayat*. When the defendant refused to obey the *Desway's* summons, the *Desway* applied to the *Naurwai* (*Naduvuli*). Where a village had no *Pramani* the inhabitants carried their complaints to any neighbouring village in which there was one.¹

"In cases of theft complaint was made to the *Pramani*, who informed the *Desway*, and both together investigated the matter and reported to the *Naurwai*. If the thief was taken they carried him to the *Naurwai*. If it was the first offence the punishment was fine and restoration of the stolen property; if the second confiscation of his property; if the third severe

¹ *Ibid.*, para 10.

punishment or death. If the offender absconded, he was outlawed.¹

"The *Desway* and the *Pramani* received fees on all suits determined by them. The amount was not fixed, but when the parties could pay the fees the rates were to the *Desway* Re 1, to the *Pramani* $\frac{1}{2}$ a Rupee, to the witnesses 4, 2, or 1 anna per day according to their rank, but the whole never exceeded 10 per cent of the claim².

"The *Desway* derived, besides fees on the settlement of suits, some other advantages from his situation. He received yearly from the owners of gardens the produce of one plantain tree, 10 cocoanuts, 1 jack, and 1 cluster of *betel* nut, and from all ryots the value of 4 to 8 annas in ghee or sugar, and a poll-tax of 8 annas from carpenters, smiths and washermen.

"None of the villagers sat in his presence without leave, and he was obeyed rather as the chief of a clan than the head of a village".³

According to the tradition recorded by Barbosa⁴, Cherman Perumal conferred the unique privilege of striking money in Kerala on the Zamorin alone. The coins that were minted at Calicut consisted of gold *Fanams*, silver *Tarens* and copper *Kas*. Sixteen *Kas* made one *Taren*, and sixteen *Tarens* one *Fanam*⁵. At the beginning of the eighteenth century one *Fanam* was equal to one shilling⁶. In 1731 the *Fanam* was reduced in weight by one-fiftieth, and three and a half new *Fanams* were exchanged for a rupee⁷. The mint was destroy-

¹ *Ibid.*, para 11. ² *Ibid.*, para 12. ³ *Ibid.*, para 13.

⁴ See page 63 *supra*. ⁵ *The Itinerary of Ludovic Varthema*, p. 53, *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol I, p. 412.

⁶ Vischer, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter XII. ⁷ *The Calicut Granthavari and The Mackenzie Mss.*

ed along with the fortress and the palace in the explosion of 1766. After the return of the Zamorin from Travancore in 1792 coinage was resumed. At last, in 1798, on the expiry of the five years' lease, the mint was handed over to the East India Company.

Not only was coinage one of the most lucrative sources of the Zamorin's money-income but it was looked upon by him as a sign and symbol of his imperial authority. The mint was closed for all the thirteen days of the pollution consequent on the demise of the Zamorin, and one of the first acts of the new Zamorin was to order the resumption of *Panamati* or the coining of *Fanams*. The officer in charge of the mint was a goldsmith, who was known as *Manavikrama Asari* or the goldsmith of Manavikrama.¹

It has already been remarked that the greatness of the Zamorin was in a very large measure due to the sea-borne commerce of his kingdom. The chief ports were Putupattanam or Turasseri, Pantalayini, Tikkoti, Kappat, Calicut, Chaliyam, Tanur, Ponnani, Chetwai and Cranganore. Putupattanam or the New Town is, as the word indicates, comparatively modern. It is situated on the Kotta river, and is the centre of the trade that passes through the Agalapula, the *Kadambin-vayil* of the Tamil poets and the refuge of the pirates of Pliny, *The Periplus*, and Ptolemy. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it was a Moorish town with much trade and navigation. It owed its importance to the family of Kunhali Marakkar². Pantalayini is one of the oldest ports of Kerala. It is mentioned by the earliest Muhammadan writers, and it has a mosque built by the pioneers of Islam. The mud bank off the coast offers excellent protection to the native craft during the monsoon. It was defended by two bastions on which guns were mounted. Kappat was noted for the soft sapphires found on its strand. Chaliyam is another very ancient settle-

¹ *The Mackenzie Mss.* ² See page 210 *supra*.

ment of the, Moors. Commanding the communications to the south, its strategic position, as we have seen, led the Portuguese to build a fort here, which was however destroyed in 1570 ¹. Ponnani, called Ponam by the Chinese and Funan by the Moors, is situated at the mouth of the Bharatappula, and in ancient times commanded all the traffic that passed through this great waterway. It had originally belonged to the Rajah of Tirumanasseri, who ceded it to the Zamorin for protecting him against his enemies of the Chovarakkur. ² In the fifteenth century it became the military capital of the empire and the seat of its chief arsenal. The port was defended by fortifications on either bank. Chetwai, situated at the mouth of the river of the same name, was one of the greatest centres of pepper trade. It was very much coveted by the Dutch, for the possession of which they fought with arms and diplomacy for a century and a half. Cranganore is the oldest port of Kerala. It was known to the Greeks as Mouziria, and to the Tamils as Vanchi, Tiruvanchikkulam, Makodai, and Mahalevarpattanam. With the abdication of Cherman Perumal, when it ceased to be the hub of a big empire, and the formation of Vaipin it began to decline.

As the capital of a great kingdom and its chief mart, Calicut, of course, overshadowed every port and city in the west coast. It was the meeting-place of nations; its population was cosmopolitan, consisting of representatives of every race and nationality from the Pillars of Heracles to the Land of the Rising Sun. There were inns and public houses where foreigners could easily find accomodation. Every caste had its tanks and wells, and its places of worship. The Hindus had their temples, the Muhammadans their mosques, the Jews their synagogue, and the Christians their Church. Communal differences and riots were conspicuous by their absence. We have already seen how with no traditions to back it, with none of the natural ad-

¹ See page 202 *supra*. ² See page 102 *supra*.

vantages which its age-long rival, Cochin, possessed, the policy of the Manavikramans made it the clearing-house of the trade between the east and the west"¹.

Calicut was and still is an open roadstead, and goods were loaded and unloaded at Kallayi, so called either from the pavement protected by stone railings or from the mouth of the river being a little rocky (*Kal*=stone, *ali*=river-mouth), a mile and a half from the palace. It was protected by a stockade, garrisoned by the Moplahs. Near it was the *Alfandique* or the bazaar and the warehouses, about half a league in circuit, where the buildings were arranged in streets. It was surrounded by a wall, and its gate was closed at sundown. Within the *Alfandique* were three large squares where the big merchants bought and sold.

Near the palace was held a market every morning, mainly for the convenience of the royal household. First, the king's servants and purveyors made their purchases, then the merchants and the general public. The vendors had to pay a fee even on the 'smallest of their goods'.

The trade of the country was in the hands of the native merchants, Vyparis, Chettis, and Guzeratis, and the Moors. The Vyaparis dealt in goods of every kind both in the sea-coast and in the interior, in fact, wheresoever they could obtain a profit. They bought all the pepper and ginger from the cultivators in exchange for cotton cloth and other goods. The Chettis were dealers in precious stones, pearls, corals, metalware and other valuable goods. The Guzeratis came from Cambay. They traded in goods of every description and acted as commission-agents and brokers.

The Moors, however, were the great wholesale exporters and importers. They engrossed all the maritime trade and navigation of the country. "They built in the city," says Barbosa," keeled ships of a thousand and a thousand two hundred *bahares* burden. These ships were built without any nails,

¹ See pages 80-80 *supra*.

but the whole sheathing was sewn with thread, and all upper works differed much from the fashion of ours, they had no decks. Here they took on board goods for every place, and every monsoon ten or fifteen of these ships sailed for the Red Sea, Aden and Mecca, where they sold their goods at a profit, some to the merchants of Juda, who took them thence in small vessels to Toro, and from Toro they would go to Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria, and thence to Venice, whence they came to our regions. These goods were pepper (great store), ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, myrobalans, tamarinds, canafistula, precious stones of every kind, seed pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, great store of cotton cloths, and porcelains, and some of them took on at Juda copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured velvets, rosewater, knives, coloured camlets, gold, silver and many other things, which they brought back for sale at Calicut. They started in February and returned from the middle of August up to the middle of October of the same year. In this trade they became extremely wealthy. And on their return voyages they would bring with them other foreign merchants, who settled in the city, beginning to build ships and to trade, on which the king received heavy duties. As soon as any of these merchants reached the city the king assigned to him a Nayre to protect and serve him, and a Chatim clerk to keep his accounts and look after his affairs, and a broker to arrange for him to obtain such goods as he had need of, for which three persons they paid good salaries".¹

When it was convenient for the merchant the king's customs-officer accompanied him to the ship with the Chetti, and made an invoice of all the goods, beginning with precious stones and metals. Then they were all transported to the *Alfandique* or warehouse.

¹ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 77.

The French traveller, Pyrard de Laval, thus describes the customs office, the warehouses and the bazaar :—"The first officers of the king whom we met with were the receivers of the king's dues, who have a house on the sea-shore erected on piles, where they remain by day only...There are three of these buildings, for the watching of all the goods that are landed, for the taking of the number and quantities in writing, and for the conveyance of them thence to the *Alfandique*. This is a great square building of stone with galleries above and below, and vaulted with stone arcades, like those of our *place royale*, but not so grand or so elegant with a large number of rooms and warehouses for keeping all the different sorts of goods separate. Over the door is written the name of the goods kept in each warehouse ; an officer of the king has one key, while the owner of the goods has another, and neither can enter without the other. The goods remain there till they have paid the dues and the customs, and the exports have to pay as well as the imports. This *Alfandique* is two or three hundred paces from the sea, between the town and the port ; it is strong and well guarded, all the doors being well-locked, and none may enter but on business, for the guards are always stationed there".¹

¹ *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I, p. 361.

THE ZAMORINS AS PATRONS OF LITERATURE

No history of the Zamorins will be complete that does not give some account of their great contribution to learning and literature in Kerala, both directly and indirectly, as poets and patrons of poets.

The annual *Pattattanam*s at the Tali temple in Calicut attracted, like the famous assemblies of Janaka of old, pandits and philosophers from far and near. *Patta* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *Bhatta*, and *Tanam* of *Danam*. The former means a person learned in the four *Sastras*, the latter gift. So *Pattattanam* is either the giving of *Danams* to *Bhattas* or the award of the title of *Bhatta* to Brahmins of proved merit.

This ceremony is held even now, though it has become an empty meaningless farce. It begins on *Revati* or the twenty-seventh lunar asterism in the Malayalam month of *Tulam* (October—November) and ends on *Tiruvatira* or the sixth lunar asterism. All the seven days the Brahmins, who come in large numbers, are feasted, and in the end the *Tanams* are given, though on a hereditary basis.

But the ancient *Pattattanam*s were serious contests in which the candidates vied with one another for the coveted prize. The judges were generally chosen from among those who had many *Tanams* to their credit. They were distinguished from the new aspirants as the *Old Sabha*. How exacting the test and how high the standard was may be inferred from the fact that six successive *Sabhas* rejected the claims of Meppattur Narayana Bhattatiri, the author of the *Narayaniyam*, for the honour of receiving a *Tanam*, and admitted it only on the seventh occasion, rather as a reward for his perseverance.

According to the *Keralolpatti* ¹, this ceremony was instituted at the suggestion of Kolkunnattu Sivankal. He enjoined

¹ *The Keralolpatti*, p. 92.

upon the Zamorin to feed every Brahmin who might come to Tali for seven days, beginning from the asterism of *Revati* in the month of *Tulam*, and at the end give to 101 *Smartas* or those proficient in the *Smritis*, each a purse containing 101 *Fanams*.

The *Granthavari* of the *Tanam* of 854 M. E. throws a flood of light on this institution. The learned Brahmins of Kerala seem to have been grouped then in two *Yogams*,¹ of Cheviyannur and Kotamangalam, representing respectively its northern and southern half. Letters were sent to these *Yogams* to send *Bhattas* to the *Sabha*, as the assembly was called, to receive *Tanams*. The *Sabha* held its sittings in the roofed hall, called *Vatil matam*, divided into a northern and a southern wing by the entrance door and the passage leading to the inner shrine. At the southern extremity of the southern wing was placed a lighted lamp to represent *Bhatta Mimamsa*, while another lighted lamp at its northern extremity represented *Prabhakara Mimamsa*. Similarly, two lamps, one at the southern and the other at the northern end of the northern wing, represented *Vyakarana* and *Vedanta* respectively. The disputations and discussions in these subjects were held in front of their respective lamps. On the last day, after the conclusion

¹ At the time when the *Keralopatti* was composed certain *Samghas* specialised in the study of certain subjects. Thus, *Bhatta Mimamsa* was studied at Nenmeni, Chovaram, Atti, Chunta and Natti; *Prabhakara Mimamsa* at Pala, Vaka, Viti, Vella, Titta and Chali; and *Vyakarana* at Tatta, Velu, Vallu and Kanta.

(*The Keralopatti*, p. 73)

In ancient days there were 18 *Sabha Mathams* or endowed institutions and 3 *Sabha Yogams* (at Tirunavayi, Trichur and Tirunakkara) to impart Vedic and *Sastraic* instruction to Namputiris. (Padmanabha Menon, *The History of Kerala*, Vol. III, p. 73).

of the contests, Mangat Acchan, the chief minister, read out the names of the winners from the list supplied to him by the judges, and one by one they came and received a purse¹ from the hands of the Zamorin, from the Munalpad if the Zamorin was absent, with the usual accompaniment of betel, *areca*, sandal paste and flowers. Blessing the Zamorin in the orthodox fashion, by placing their hands upon his head, they took their seat along with the members of the *Old Sabha*. After the *Danams* had all been given, the Zamorin placed a purse containing 300 Fanams on a plank in front of the august assembly; and circumambulated them, accompanied by such of the Tampurans as were present. At the completion of the round they prostrated before the learned gathering. Then the Zamorin took his seat on a plank, and all the members of the *Sabha* blessed him one by one in the manner above-described.

In the history of Sanskrit literature in Kerala the second half of the fifteenth century after Christ marks an epoch. It witnessed an outburst of genius in literature and philosophy similar to the Periclean age in ancient Athens and the Elizabethan age in modern England. It was an age of giants, the Zamorin Manavikrama towering high above them all. A veritable treasure of learning, or *Sarasvatanidhi*, as he was called by Kakkasseri, round him were gathered some of the greatest poets and philosophers of Kerala, who were known collectively as the *Patinettarakkavikal* or literally the *Eighteen-and-a-half Poets*.²

¹ At the *Pattattanam* of 854 M. E. only 46 persons received the *Tanam*, and the purses contained each 114½ Fanams. *Dakshinas* or gifts to other Brahmins amounted to 1,100 Fanams. (The *Calicut Granthavari*)

² What follows is mainly based on H. H. Appan Tampuran's *Patinettarakkavikal* in the *Mangalamala*, Kavitalakan Ullur Parameswara Ayyar's *The Zamorins and Literature* in

We do not know the names of all the eighteen poets. The greatest of them were the two Payyur Bhattatiris or Patteris, father and son, Uddanda Sastrikal, Kakkasseri Bhattatiri, Chennas Namputiri and Punam Namputiri.

The Payyur Patteris were authorities in *Mimamsa*. It was the practice amongst the members of this family to produce each a new work on *Mimamsa* when they met together every year to perform the anniversary of their father's death. The head of the family was the presiding judge and director of the *Pattattanam*. Uddanda Sastrikal, the terror of Malayalam poets and Sanskrit poetasters, refers to the *Acchan* or the father Bhattatiri as Maharashi, and compares him to Kalidasa in poetry, Kalpavriksha in the matter of gifts and Siva in omniscience.

The name of the younger or the son Patteri was Parameswara. He is the author of the *Sutrarthasamgraha*, a commentary on Jaimineya *Mimamsa Sutras*. Uddanda calls him *Mimamamsaka Chakravarti* or the emperor of *Mimamsa*, thereby acknowledging his proficiency in this system of philosophy.

Uddanda was a Brahmin of Iatapuram on the banks of Palar in Tondamandalam, the present Chingleput District. He was the son of Ranganatha, who belonged to Vadhula *Gotra* and followed the *Apastampa Sutras*. After finishing his education, young Uddanda visited Andhra, Karnataka, Kalinga and Chola, and at last the fame of the *Pattattanam* of Tali attracted him to the court of Zamorin Manavikrama of Calicut.

In *Mallikamarutam* he calls himself Uddanda, and says that he is known also by the name of Iraguvanatha. There is no doubt, however, that Uddanda was not his real name, and it was either a nickname bestowed on him by his brother-poets on account of his forwardness and assumed by him later on as a sobriquet, or it was a title conferred upon him by the Zamorin. It

the *Seventh Report of the All-Kerala Sahitya Parishad* and Mr. Govinda Wariar's *Literary Patronage under the Zamorins of Calicut* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV No. 1.

cannot be denied that he was a little haughty and overbearing, and his challenge to the poets of Kerala was couched in words by no means too polite or humble. "Flee, flee," roared the Sastrikal, "ye poetasters, (that consider yourselves) elephants. The proud lion (or the lion known as Uddanda) roaming in the forests of Vedanta is approaching."¹ He contracted *Sambandham* with a Nayar lady of the Marakkara house in Chennamangalam. In his *Kokilasamdesam* he describes, in the manner of *Samdesa Kavyas*, all the important places from Chennamangalam to Calicut. He is believed to have written a work on *Alamkara*, which has not yet been discovered. The drama, *Mallikamarutam* is held to be the greatest of his works. It was composed at the command of Manavikrama, and it formed the basis of later *Champukavyas* like *Kotiyaviraham* and *Rajaratnavaliyam*. Comparing him with Bhavabhuti, Kavitalakam Ullur says:—"If Bhavabhuti excels in vigour, Uddanda excels in sweetness. In some parts, when depicting *Vipralambha sringara*, or the feelings of separated lovers, he even surpasses that great master".

Among the poets and writers of the day Uddanda held the same place as the English poet, Johnson, did in his circle. He recognised excellence wherever it was found, irrespective of caste or place, and mercilessly castigated the mere verse-writers. He lashed vice and corruption also in the manner of Juvenal, and the pride and insolence of many a courtier were humbled by volleys from his battery.

Kakkasseri was a younger contemporary of Uddanda, who became famous as his most formidable rival. According to tradition, the Namputiris, piqued by the uniform success of

ചലായപം, ചലായപം

തെരെ മുപ്പുവികഞ്ചര:

വേദാന്ത വനസഞ്ചാരി

എന്തായാട്ടു ഭൃന്യാകസരി.

the Sastrikal at the *Pattattanam* contests and despairing of defeating him, prayed God for the birth of a poet amongst them who would vanquish the east coast stranger. Hearing that a Namputiri lady was in the family way, they began to give her, as enjoined in the *Sastras*, butter consecrated by *Mantras*. Thus was born Kakkasseri. The drama *Vasumativikramam* was his reply to *Mallikamarutam*. From it we know that he was born at Asokapuram or Tiruvegappara, his preceptor was one Narayanacharya, and the Zamorin took a personal interest in his education, defraying all his expenses.

Chennas Namputiri, who was born in A. D. 1427, has immortalised his name by his *Tantrasamuccahya*. He was the hereditary director of the religious ceremonies at the court. According to tradition, Mullappalli Namputiri and Chennas were once punished by the Zamorin for composing some verses which were not very complimentary. The punishment was unique. He ordered that at the next *Pattattanam* Mullappalli should be awarded the *Tanam* before the opening of the *Sabha*, an unbearable humiliation for a scholar, and Chennas should produce an original work on *Tantra Sastra*. Thus came into existence the *Tantrasamuccahya*, which still reigns supreme in Kerala as the final authority on *Tantric* ritual, temple architecture and iconography.

Nothing is known at present about Mullappalli. Astrology seems to have formed the special study of this family. It was a Mullappalli Namputiri who went to Nileswaram in 1705 to examine the horoscopes of the Tampurans and Tampurattis who were adopted in the Zamorin's family in the following year.

Punam Namputiri was a native of North Malabar. He was a younger contemporary of Uddanda. Besides enjoying Manavikrama's patronage, he had the good fortune to receive the support of his successor, Manaveda, also. He composed his

slokas in Malayalam. Though Uddanda had a great contempt for Malayalam poets in general, as lacking in metre, he had a great admiration for Punam. Swept off his feet by one of his verses in praise of Manavikrama, his patron, the haughty Sastrikal was moved then and there to give away his upper garment in token of his admiration. What a loss to Sanskrit literature the death of Manavikrama proved to be is reflected in another *sloka* in which, he says, that even the dogs that eat the castaway refuse of the meals glory themselves as Malayalam poets.² The work by which he is most widely known is the *Ramayanachampu*. The reference to the arrival at Ayodhya of people with Portuguese hats for the coronation of Rama makes it certain that it was composed after the arrival of da Gama.³

We know nothing about the Tiruvegappara Namputiris, traditionally included among the *Eighteen-and-a-half Poets*. But it is probable that the author of *Subhadraharanam*, written on the model of *Bhatti Kavya*, to illustrate the *Sutras* of Panini

¹ The *sloka* referred to is as follows :—

താരിത്തനീകടാക്ഷാഞ്ചലമധുപകലാരാമ, രാമാജനാനാം
നീരിൽതാർബാണ, വൈരാകരനികരതാമര മണ്ഡലീലണ്ഡമാനോ,
നേരത്തൊഴുതാരു നീയാം ഞാടുകരി കളയായ്ക്കുന്നമേഷാകളിക്കും
നേരത്തിന്നല്ലാം വിക്രമേന്ദ്രവരധരാ ഹന്തകല്പാന്തരായെ.

It was with the words, *Anta hantakku inta pattu* (this silk for that *hanta*), that the Sastrikal is said to have given away his upper garment.

² ചൊല്ലാളും വിക്രമകല്പാപതിഗിരിജലധിസ്വാമി സാഹിത്യലക്ഷ്മി
മുഖ്യസ്ഥാനം കവിത്വാമൃതനിധി പരലോകം മുദാവാന്റെമുഖം
ഇഷ്ടാണിമണ്ഡലൈ സംസ്കൃതകവിത പലക്കണ്ടു; കണ്ടച്ചിലെല്ലാം
നക്കുംനായ്ക്കുംഞാടുകിൻറിതു ശിവശിവ ഭാഷാകവിതമാമിമാനം.

³ Narayana Panikkar, *Bhashasahityacharitram*, Part I, p. 358.

was a member of Manavikrama's court. He belonged to the Kutallur Mana and his name was Narayanan. There is no doubt, however, that Vasudevan Namputiri, the commentator of *Viddhasalabhanjika* and *Anargharaghava* was a contemporary of Uddanda, who refers to him as *Sahityamalla*. His *Vikramiyam*, a commentary on *Anargharaghava*, opens with salutations to the deity of Srivalayanad and the Lord of Tali. In the description of the latter, as praised and worshipped by the best of Brahmins deeply learned in poetry, grammar and philosophy, we can easily see that the poet is alluding to the *Pattattanams*.

If Vasudevan Namputiri won Uddanda's praise by his *Vikramiyam*, his preceptor, Karunakara Marar, won his regard at a chance encounter at the temple of Mukkola, his native place. While the Brahmin poet was praising its presiding deity in an impromptu *sloka*, the Marar completed his *purvardha* or the first two lines by two lines of his own, surpassing the former in the excellence of their rhyme¹. Thrilled with joy, the Sastrikal paid a handsome compliment to him, saying "This is Devi's Karunakara". The Marar was also a profound scholar, besides being a poet. He has written a commentary on *Vritta-ratnakara* called *Kavichintamani*.

In the latter half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century appeared four great *Bhaktas* or devotees, whose contribution to literature, both Sanskrit and Malayalam, cannot be overestimated. They were Meppattur Narayana Bhattatiri, Puntanam Namputiri, Tunjattu Ramanujan Eluttacchan and Maharajah Manaveda (1655-1658).

According to a *Granthavari* in the possession of Krishnan Asan, Narayana Bhattatiri was born in 735 M. E., A. D.

സംഭരിതഭൂരി കൃപമംബരമംഗം
ശ്രുതമിരന്തനമിരന്തവ മന്തഃ
ജംഭരിപുകുന്ദിവരകുന്ദഗുഡം
സ്തംഭികചകുട പരിരംഭശംഭു.

1559—1560, in the ancestral *illom* of Meppattur, in the village of Chandanakkavu, in the present Ponnani Taluk¹. Virtually illiterate and uneducated, he came, after his *Upanayanam* and *Samavartanam*, to Trikantiyur, where Brahmins were fed free. Before long he contracted *Sambandham* with a lady belonging to the house of Achyuta Pisharoti, who was considered an authority both in Sanskrit and astrology. Stung to the quick by some remarks of the Pisharoti about his irreligious life, utterly unworthy of a Brahmin, the young Bhattatiri at once resolved to turn over a new leaf. Under the Pisharoti as his preceptor he began to learn Sanskrit, and in a very short time astonished him by the command he had obtained over it. The life of Lord Krishna had a great attraction for him, and he wrote out the story of *Mahabharata* in a number of *Champus*. They are called *Prabandhams*, and they form an inexhaustible mine for the *Pathakas* or professional storytellers of Kerala. Like all ambitious poets he also came to Calicut to take part in the *Pattattanam*. It has already been mentioned how after six successive attempts he was at last able on the seventh occasion to get himself enrolled as a member of the *Sabha*.

His affection and respect for Achyuta Pisharoti made him take upon himself the illness of his *Guru* in the manner of the mythical Pururavas. Unable to bear the pains of rheumatism thus acquired, he consulted his neighbour, Tunjattu Ramanujan Eluttacchan, who advised him to propitiate Lord Krishna of Guruvayur by reciting everyday a story in his praise beginning with the *Matsya-avatara* or Fish-Incarnation of Vishnu. Thus came into existence the great devotional work called the *Narayaniyam*, which was completed on the day denoted by the chronogram, *A-yu-ra-ro-gya-sau-khyam*, that is, 17,12,210th day of Kali Yuga, corresponding to January 22, 1589. His fame soon

¹ Narayana Panikkar, *The Kerala bhasha sahitya charitram*, Part II, p. 271.

spread far and wide, and he was invited to Ampalapula, also sacred to Krishna, by its Rajah. At his instance he wrote a grammar called *Prakriyasarvasvam* in sixty days¹. The originality and excellence of its arrangement induced Bhattatiri Dikshitar to start for Malabar to obtain suggestions from the Bhattatiri for his own projected work. But, unfortunately, the Dikshitar was too late. He came here only to know that the Bhattatiri had passed away. The year of his death, as given in the *Granthavari* mentioned above, is 841 M. E., corresponding to A. D. 1665—1636.

The Bhattatiri possessed an extraordinary skill in composing chronograms, the consonants of which, read from right to left, give the number of the day reckoned from the beginning of Kali Yuga, i. e., April 13, 3102 B. C.; while the whole word, read from left to right, indicates the event. Thus, *A-yu-ra-ro-gya-sau-khyam* represents not only the date of the completion of the *Narayaniyam* but also the author's restoration to perfect health; and in *Ya-tna-pha-la-pra-su-syat*, corresponding to July 17, 1615, we get the date of the fruition of his great task, the compilation of the grammatical work, *Prakriyasarvasvam*. His unrivalled knack in this field is strikingly illustrated by a *sloka*², describing the considerable havoc and misery caused by a great flood, coming all on a sudden, on August 12, 1610. Its peculiar feature is while the letters of lines 1 and 3 give the day in the orthodox style by being read from right to left, lines 2 and 4 have to be read in the reverse direction, from left to right, in order to arrive at its date.

¹ Vasudevan Mussad, *Meppattur Narayana Bhattatiri*, pp. 33—34.

² നദീപുഷ്പിരസഹൃതം
നഹുസാരം പരയാജനീ
നിജാകടീരാൽ സായാഹ്നേ
നഷ്ടാഞ്ചര പ്രയശ്ചജനാഃ

The day indicated by each of these lines is 17 21 180.

Puntanam was Meppattur's contemporary. He was a native of Nenmini in Valluvanad, and at the invitation of the Zamorin he came to Calicut and permanently established his residence in his dominions. So great was his devotion to Lord Krishna that his favourite deity is said to have helped him to surmount many a difficulty. On one occasion, while on his way from Calicut to Guruvayur, he was set upon by robbers at Kundotti, and in response to his appeals Lord Krishna Himself, we are told, made his appearance in the form of a commanding officer of the Zamorin's army and rescued him from the ruffians. With the Lord's assistance he was able even to humble the pride of Narayana Bhattatiri, who treated his *Santanagopalam* with contempt, as a work in Malayalam and therefore not deserving his attention. Puntanam's most famous works are *Santanagopalam* and *Gnanappana*.

About Tunjattu Ramanujan Eluttacchan, the greatest and most popular of all Malayalam poets, we know nothing except that he was born at Trikkantiyur, and he was a contemporary of Meppattur. There is not a single Malayali house which does not possess a copy of his *Adhyatma Ramayanam*, *Bharatam* and *Bhagavatam*, all in *Kilippattu* style. Though Tunjattu Eluttacchan did not enjoy the Zamorin's patronage, his disciples, Karunakaran Eluttacchan and Suryanarayana Eluttacchan, were employed for some time as tutors in the Zamorin's family. It is quite possible, therefore, that they had the privilege of having Manaveda, the author of the *Krishnanatakam*, as one of their pupils.

The author of the *Krishnanatakam* does not give us much information about himself in his drama, as Uddandan and Kakkasseri do in theirs about themselves. He is tantalisingly silent about his early life. All that we are told is that his name was Manaveda, he was the nephew or sister's son of King (Mana) Vikrama, who conquered all his enemies by his valour¹, and

¹ This was another *Saktan Tampuran*, not the *Tiruvonam Tirunal* Maharajah.

the drama was completed on the Kali day denoted by the chronogram, *Gra-hya-stu-tir-ga-tha-kaih*. It corresponds to 17,36,612th day of Kali Yuga, and happens to be the last day of *Tulam*, 828 M. E., A. D. 1652. It is not improbable, therefore, that it was also the concluding day of the *Pattattanam*. From his *Purvabharathachampu*, completed on the day of *pa-po-dyu-lo-la-so-yam*, i. e., Kali day 17,33,111, corresponding to *Metam* 1, 818 M. E., A. D. 1643, in the reign of his uncle, (Mana) Vikrama, the Mighty-armed, we know that one of his tutors was one Anayattu Krishna Pisharoti. Vellangallur Narayanan Namputiri, who wrote the *Meya* of *Manomeyodaya*, begun by Meppattur, calls him *Pragnata Patanjalah* and *Bhaktaschakrini*, indicating thereby that he was a great *Yogi* as well as a great devotee of Lord Krishna. From other sources we know that he was a contemporary of Meppattur and the last of the Vilvamangalam *Svamiyars*, and before his accession he used to spend a large part of his time at Guruvayur in company with the author of the *Narayaniyam*.

Perhaps the idea of the *Krishnanatakam* itself was derived from it. Representing the boyhood of Lord Krishna in eight parts, it is an adaptation of the rules of *Kathakali* to purely devotional subjects. The Zamorin maintains even now a *Krishnattam* troupe, which accompanies him and takes its place in all state-processions in front of the king, as in times past.

Vellangallur Narayanan Namputiri, who completed the *Manameyodaya*, was a very prolific writer. Besides the *Meya*, he was the author of *Srimasotsavachampu*, *Bhagavata-prabandham*, *Nrisimhachampu*, *Vaidehisamgamam*, *Vivaranam*, which is a commentary on *Kumarasambhava*, and *Padarthadipika*, which is a commentary on *Raghuvamsa*. The wide range of his interests may be seen from the fact that he has a work on *Nyaya* called the *Tamovada* also to his credit.

Another Manaveda, perhaps the *Asvati Tirunal* Maharajah (1658--1662), who expelled the Portuguese from Cranga-

nore, wrote a commentary called the *Vilasini* on the *Sukosam-desa* of Lakshmidasa. From his work we know that one Ranganatha, who has not yet been identified, was one of his tutors, and the author was assisted in his labours by Rudra and Sekhara.

Rudra enjoys the distinction of being the first among those below the Brahmin caste to study *Vyakarana*, which, as a *Vedanga* or limb of the Veda, had been a sealed book to them. He has written the story of Sisupalavadha in *Champu* form, and a commentary on the *Narayaniyam* known as the *Bhaktapriya*. The theme of his drama *Manavedasattaka* is the marriage of his patron, Manaveda, with a princess of Anga.

But the most brilliant of the poets who surrounded Manaveda was Chidambara Kavi. An east coast Brahmin like Uddanda, he is remembered for his drama, *Lakshmi Manavedam*. In conception it is much grander, in style more elegant than the *Saitaka*. Bhargava Rama as high-priest unites Maharajah Manaveda in marriage with Rajyalakshmi, the Goddess of Empire, who is represented as the daughter of Samudra Rajah or the King of the Ocean. Among those who take part in the ceremony is Goddess Nila, who stands for Bharatappula.

In this period appeared the prose work known as the *Keralolpatti*, our most important source for the period prior to the coming of da Gama. Its concluding paragraph ascribes it to Tunjattu Ramanujan Eluttacchan. No one takes this statement seriously, and there is no doubt that the authorship is foisted on the great poet to give it an air of authority and enhance its popularity. As it reveals a detailed knowledge of Calicut and the Nediyruppu Svarupam it must have been written by some one connected with the Zamorin's court ¹.

¹ It is said that there are many *Keralolpattis*, every kingdom having its own version. The *Keralolpatti* used in the preparation of this book is that printed at the Basel Mission Press.

As it mentions the "four hated nations", the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English ¹, it could not have been written before the second half of the seventeenth century. But it could not have been so late as 1695, when the *Bharani Tirunal* Zamorin celebrated the *Chinga Vyalam Mamakam*, for the author refers to the *Karkataka Vyalam Mamakam* as though the *Mamakam* could be celebrated only in the year of *Karkataka Vyalam* ². This work is important not by reason of its style but as the first attempt at history-writing in Malayalam.

No Sanskrit work of *Bharani Tirunal's* reign (1684-1705) has come down to us. But in the *Mamakam Kilippattu* by Katancheri Namputiri we have an account of the two *Mamakams* celebrated by one of the greatest of the Zamorins. The poem enables us to form some idea of the high place occupied by this festival in the life of the people. Besides furnishing an occasion for the exhibition and exchange of the products of Kerala with those of other countries, it not only served, like the Olympian and Pythian games of ancient Greece, but lasting much longer, as a means of bringing together the people of Kerala from its most distant parts, from Kolattunad in the north to Venad in the south, but played a very important part in the history of their religion, literature and philosophy. Among the most attractive features of the festival were *Kuttu* and *Pathakam* (different kinds of story-telling), *Krishnattam* and *Ramanattam* (different kinds of drama), expositions of the *Puranas*, and literary contests and philosophical disputations³.

The poem incidentally tells us that the Fourth Prince, though a boy, was a great grammarian and an eminent ascetic⁴.

Not only the Tampurans but the Tampurattis also cultivated poetry and philosophy. Of the two Manorama Tampurattis, whose names are remembered, we know nothing about

¹ *The Keralolpatti*, p. 64. ² *Ibid.*, p. 93. ³ *The Mamakam Kilippattu*, p. 111. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 119.

the first except that she was the sister of Maharajah Manaveda. Who this Manaveda was, whether the author of the *Krishna-natakam* or of the *Vilasini*, has yet to be ascertained. The other was born in the Kilakke Kovilakam in 1760. She obtained her name from the fact that even before she was twelve years old she had been able to master the great commentary on the *Siddhanta Kaumudi* called *Manorama*. When Malabar was overrun by the Mysoreans she took refuge along with the other members of her family in Travancore, and lived at Ennekkat till her return to Malabar in 1800. In 1828 she died.

During her stay in Travancore her command of Sanskrit had won the admiration of Maharajah *Kartika Tirunal*, himself a no mean scholar, who carried on a correspondence with her till his death in the language in which both of them were equally proficient. Once, while not yet out of her pupillage, she is said to have surprised Chelapparampu Namputiri, who considered himself unrivalled in extempore versification by completing offhand the *Purvardha* of a *sloka* which she had just heard him recite impromptu. Chirakkuli Bhavadasan Namputiri's commentary on the *Ekadasaskandha* of the *Bhagavatha* is also generally attributed to her.

There are still many authors and works associated with the Zamorin's court, whose dates have yet to be fixed. One of the Zamorins was named Mani Tampuran for his knowledge of *Manigrantha*, a standard work on *Nyaya*. Nilakantha Somayaji, the author of the *Arya Bhattiyam* is another author whose date is baffling us. We do not know, again, anything of Bhaskaran Namputiri, who wrote the *Sringaralilatilakam*, or of Timmakavi, who was the grandson of a Jeggakkavi and who wrote the *Sujanamanomodachandrika*.

Literature seems to have followed the Zamorin to the battle-field also. Challenges and requests, addressed to them by young aspirants to poetic fame, belonging to the enemy's camp, bear testimony to the fact that even in the midst of war and bloodshed they could attend to the claims of sweet poetry.

APPENDIX I : SOURCES

The maintenance of a record office such as that described by Laval ¹ might lead us to expect an abundance of public documents to serve as an excellent foundation for the history of the Zamorins. But, unfortunately, most of them have perished. The Central Record Office was burnt down in part by Albuquerque in 1513, and completely destroyed in the explosion of 1766. A large part of the collection at Trikkavil and Vayirannallur, both of them near Ponnani, disappeared during the Mysorean occupation (1774–1792). The bulk of those preserved at Vatakkechira in Trichur and Vattakkotta at Cranganore fell into the hands of Cochín and Travancore when those places were occupied by them in 1762. Before 1926, even the inconsiderable remnant, that managed to survive these disasters and resist the ravages of time and the white ant, had a tendency to disappear in the course of their migration from place to place according to the Kovilakam to which the Zamorin happened to belong.

The records that are now available consist of:—(1) *Cherikkal* or estate and *Devasvam* or temple accounts; (2) Writs of succession, adoption, titles and honours; (3) Accounts of *Mamakams* and *Tai-Puyams*; (4) Accounts of religious ceremonies, including *Tiruvantali* and *Ariyittuvalcha*; (5) Accounts of sums borrowed from and paid to the English East India Company; and (6) Chronicles of some public events.

Of these, the *Cherikkal* and *Devasvam* accounts are the least important. More valuable are the *sannads* of succession, adoption, titles and honours. They help us to form an idea of the organisation of the empire. Incidentally, by mentioning the date and place of issue, they give us also some information on the movements of the Zamorin. The accounts of the twelve-yearly festivals, the *Mamakam* and the *Tai-Puyam* are full and

¹ See page 277–278 *supra*.

authoritative, though bald like all official chronicles. In conjunction with Katancheri's *Kilippattu* they enable us to form an exact idea of these festivals, totally different from the extremely fanciful theories of Hamilton and Sir James Frazer. The records of the *Ariyittuvalchas* help us to understand the distinctive features of a Malabar coronation, besides furnishing us with the date of accession of a number of Zamorins from 1560 onwards. The accounts of sums lent by and paid back to the English East India Company tally in every respect with those contained in *The Tellicherry Consultations*. While they throw some light on the financial drain caused by the wars with the Dutch, they also enhance our regret that a large part of such reliable sources has been irretrievably lost to the historian. Of contemporary official accounts of public events we have only very few. They describe, with more or less detail, the Dutch raid on Cranganore and the loss of the Cheraman Sword in 1670, the defection of Mangat Acchan in 1752, the treason of the commandants of Aliparampa and Mapranam in 1762, and the Zamorin's pilgrimage to Cape Comorin and Trivandrum culminating in the treaty of 1763.

The earliest date furnished by indigenous literary sources is 1427; the earliest *Granthavari* is that of 1560; and the earliest event of which we have a full and authentic record, though from foreign sources, is the coming of Vasco da Gama. For the period prior to this epoch-making event in world-history, we have, except for the accounts of Ibn Batuta, Abdur Razak and Ma Huan, to rely solely upon traditions. Transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation, they have assumed various forms, all of them, however, having an easily recognisable common nucleus of fact. They were first reduced to writing, not in Malayalam but in Portuguese, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, between 1500 and 1518, by Barbosa, the Portuguese factor. Sheik Zeinuddin, a courtier of Ali Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur, who was

assassinated in 1579, has incorporated the Muhammadan version of these legends in his Arabic work, *The Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*. The earliest attempt at collecting these floating traditions in Malayalam is embodied in *The Keralolpatti*, written sometime in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

We will be depriving ourselves of a very valuable source of information if we reject legends and traditions as of no value whatever. For "there is no myth without its background of facts. 'There is no smoke without some fire' is a maxim which the historian should never overlook. In fact, we are getting to understand now that whenever we have an ancient legend there is always some sort of truth in it. Legends do not grow from nothing more than anything else; there must be a seed, though the plant, which has sprung up from it, may have taken a strange and almost unrecognisable form".¹

The Keralolpatti consists of three parts. Part I (pp. 1-18) describes the reclamation of Kerala by Parasurama, the settlement of the Brahmins and the organisation of their government. Part II (pp. 18-78) gives an account of the Perumals in seven chapters, ending with the partition of the country by Cheraman Perumal. Part III (pp. 78-115) is devoted mainly to the achievements of the Zamorins, and bears the title of *The Period of the Kings*. It consists of seven chapters:—(1) The conquest of Polanad (pp. 78-87); (2) The building of the city of Calicut (pp. 87-90); (3) The greatness of Calicut (pp. 95-99); (5) The alliance with Kurumpiyatiri (pp. 99-105); (6) The Perumpatappu Svarupam, Venad Atikal and Kolattiri (pp. 105-111); and (7) A short *resume* of the subsequent history of Kerala (pp. 111-115).

In estimating the historical value of *The Keralolpatti* we must be on our guard against being led away by the remarks of Logan and Sessa Ayyar, both of them authorities of the greatest weight. The former regards it "as a farrago of legendary nonsense, having for definite aim the securing to the Brahman

¹ *The Journal of Indian History*, 1937 pp. 240-241.

of unbounded power and influence in the country"¹. "To glean history from this work", says the latter, "is as hopeless as to seek for a needle in a haystack".²

Both of them were mainly concerned only with the first two parts of the book, which must indeed be pronounced as very unsatisfactory. It has to be conceded that the first part is either wholly miraculous or imaginative, and it is really a Herculean task to discover the facts lying concealed in the second part, with its monstrous anachronisms and preponderance of fiction. But every one must admit that the third part is richer in historical material than the first two.

Even in the second part, especially in its last chapter, we can detect some historical elements. We cannot reject the partition story as absolutely baseless. The tradition is so strong and widespread that it must have had some fact behind it. It was current amongst the people long before *The Keralolpatti* was compiled; it is recorded by hostile witnesses like Barbosa, Castaneda, Couto, Nieuhoff, Baldeus and Visscher, not to speak of Zeinuddin. Cheraman Perumal cannot be regarded as an invention of our author, especially in the face of Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam*. And the tradition about the gift of his sword to the first Zamorin is corroborated by the *Granthavari* describing its loss. Though the stories narrated by our author about the conquest of Polanad, and the wars with the Vellatri, Perumpatappu and Venad Atikal appear childish, no one can deny that they have some genuine tradition at their back and represent the general course of events.

The memory of some of the events of this period, again, is enshrined in ceremony and custom. The conquest of Nedunganad is preserved in the Eralpad's *Kotticchelunallattu* to Karimpula, and the conquest of Tirunavayi in the various events of the *Mamakam*, like the standing-in-state of the Rajah of Bettet,

¹ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, p. 244.

² Sesha Ayyar, *The Oeras of the Sangam Age*, pp. 77-78.

the Munalpad, the Eralpad, and the Zamorin, and the occasional appearance of the *Chavers* of the Vellatri.

If the historian is handicapped by the lack of materials for the period before 1498, he is bewildered by their abundance for the period subsequent to it. If in the earlier period he has to grope his way through obscure legends of a completely forgotten or half-forgotten past, in the later period he may not be able to see the wood for the trees.

In the Portuguese accounts, official and non-official, we have their version of their achievements and policy in the east. While most of the state-papers have yet to be translated, Mr. Pannikar has laid the historians of Kerala under a deep debt of gratitude to him by incorporating a number of their official despatches in his *Malabar and the Portuguese*.

Among the earliest and most reliable of the non-official sources, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* occupies the first place. Published in two volumes by the Hakluyt Society, the second volume gives an exhaustive account of Calicut, its court and people. It enjoys the unique advantage of an appendix and notes by Mr. J. A. Thorne, f. C. S., whose association with Malabar in general and the Zamorin in particular in various capacities has enabled him to write with a knowledge and authority such as that which no European has hitherto been able to command.

Castaneda's *History of the Conquest of India*, translated and published in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, carries the palm for both reliability and critical acumen. Originally consisting of ten books only eight have come down to us. These books bring their history down to 1538. "All his history," says Whiteway, "is very valuable, more especially the first six books. Where his work can be compared with original documents it stands the test well". Almost the same period is covered by the Malayalam *Keralapalama*, printed at the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore. Modern in style, we know nothing about its author or the authorities consulted by him. Though not an original source in itself, we cannot afford to neglect it. Castaneda's work was continued

by Barros and de Couto in their *Decadas*. But the former was a stranger to India; and while the latter spent almost all his life in Malabar and the west coast, the value of his work is considerably detracted by his editors. So for the period subsequent to Castaneda's *History* reliance has been placed mainly on Sheikh Zeinuddin's *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*.

Our sources for the first half of the seventeenth century are rather meagre. We have the account of the Frenchman, Pyrard de Laval, who was staying at Calicut as an honoured guest of the Zamorin from June 1607 to February 1608. But it is not a history like Castaneda's. It is chiefly valuable, like Barbosa's work, for the light it throws upon the Zamorin's empire, its peoples and their customs, though it contains some references to the war with Kunhali.

But we reach more solid ground when we come to 1653. In the *Palappattu* or *War-Song* we have an indigenous work describing the downfall of the Portuguese. "Its author," says its learned editor, Kavatilakan Rao Sahib Ullur Parameswara Ayyar, "must have lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century of the Christian era and been an eye-witness to some of the incidents so graphically narrated in the poem". It describes the Bettem adoption of 1658, the capture of Pallipattin and Cranganore, the battle of Mattancheri, the capture of Cochin, and the war between the Zamorin and the Dutch in the years 1667—1669. The author, however, betrays his sympathies with Cochin by invidious comparisons¹ and the suppression of the important part played by the Calicut Nayars in the collapse of the Portuguese. Further research may, however,

¹ For example, he compares the Zamorin's advance against Rama Varma to that of Khara and Dushana against Prince Rama of Ayodhya.

രാമനോടുടെ ഖരദുഷണർ ചെല്ലുപോലെ

രാമവടനേരെ വന്നിതു ചെരുമ്പട.

(*The Palappattu*, p. 9)

enable us to light upon other similar *Patapattus*, but more impartial. For the author says at the beginning of his work that it is only one of such *Patapattus* extant in the Malayalam language.¹

At the end of this century appeared the *Mamakam Kilipattu*,² by Katancheri Namputiri, a courtier of the *Bharani Tirunal* Zamorin (1684 — 1705). Edited by Sri K. C. Manavikraman Rajah, D. C., of the Kilakke Kovilakam, one of the pioneers in the field of Kerala history, it consists of six parts. The first gives the traditional story of the reclamation of Kerala by Parasurama. In the second, Cheraman Perumal is represented as conferring on the Zamorin his sword and imperial authority, with the responsibility or privilege of conducting the twelve-yearly *Mamakam* at Tirunavayi. The third describes some of the Zamorins of the seventeenth century and ends with the accession of *Bharani Tirunal* and the celebration of the *Tai-Puyam* of 1693. In the fourth, we have a grand description of the *Mamakam* of 1694. The fifth describes some religious ceremonies and refers to some of the political events of the period. And the last gives us an account of the *Mamakam* of 1695.

In the *Press List of Ancient Dutch Records* and Galletti's translations of the *Memoirs* of Gollenesse and Moens we have valuable official documents for the struggle between the Zamorin and the Dutch. Visscher's *Letters from Malabar* does for Cochin what Barbosa's book does for Calicut, though it gives us much valuable information about the war of 1715—1718.

For the transactions of the Zamorin with the English from 1725 to 1751 we have *The Tellicherry Consultations*, which corroborate and supplement the *Granthavaris*. Published in

¹ ലാഷയിൽ പല പടപ്പാട്ടുണ്ടു കേരളത്തിൽ
കോഴകൾ കറഞ്ഞ വിചാന്നാർ ചമച്ചിട്ടു.

(*The Patapattu*. p. 1.)

² See also page 309 *supra*.

twenty volumes, they contain also some references to internal events, the Zamorin's dealings with the Dutch and the Mysorean invasions before 1756. *The Report of the Joint Commissioners* (1793) gives us not only a detailed account of the events in Malabar in the first year of the English occupation, but makes retrospective references to some of the important events immediately preceding its annexation. It closes the chapter of Malabar history which began with the partition of Kerala by its last emperor, Cheraman Perumal. For the history of the next thirteen years down to 1806, when the Zamorin finally retired from public life, we have Logan's invaluable collection of *Treaties, Engagements, Etc., relating to British Affairs in Malabar*.

Two works of a general nature deserve special mention. One of them is Logan's *Malabar Manual*. Published in two volumes, it gives a comprehensive account of Malabar in all its varied aspects. The other is Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala*. Edited by Sahityakusalan T. K. Krishna Menon, we have in its four volumes what may be called an encyclopaedia of Kerala history.¹

¹ The names of all books and publications made use of in the preparation of this book are given at the end.

APPENDIX II: THE AGREEMENT OF 1806

(Logan, *Treaties, Engagements, Etc.* pp. 372—376)

Kararnamah or Agreement entered into between the Honourable Company's Government and Korikote Mauna Wickrama Samoory Rajah of the Nedyeruppa Suruwum for himself and his family, defining the conditions on which the Malikhana they have heretofore enjoyed is confirmed to them in perpetuity.

Whereas kararnamahs or agreements were signed and executed between James Stevens, Esq., Supravisor of the Province of Malabar, under the authority vested in him by the Honourable the Governor in Council of Bombay on the one part, and by certain Malabar Rajahs and Chieftains on the other part. Wherein it was among other stipulations agreed, that for the term of five years commencing on the 1st of Kanny 970 M. S. one-fifth share of the net collection of certain districts should be on certain conditions paid annually for the said period of five years to Korikote Mauna Wickram Samoory Rajah, out of the revenues accruing to the Company's Government.

And whereas the said term of five years so stipulated is now and has been long since expired and the conditions of the said kararnamahs or agreements consequently void and of no effect and no permanent settlement of the revenues of Malabar having since been carried into practice, the Malikhana to the several Rajahs has been continued by the free bounty of the Company's Government on the basis of the aforesaid kararnamahs or agreements. And whereas the jurisdiction of the Province of Malabar having been transferred to the Government of Fort St. George, the Principal Collector has received the orders of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to fix one general assessment of land revenue throughout the Province of Malabar on certain principles. And whereas the proposed assessment may in its operation reduce the amount of jumma upon certain districts in particular, or upon the whole province in general. Whereby the usual Malikhana of five per cent. on the jumma

may be diminished in certain cases to the prejudice of the comforts of the Rajahs and their families, contrary to the benevolent intentions of the Company's Government towards the Rajahs of Malabar.

And for as much as some of the younger branches of certain Kowilagams have at several times forgotten their duties of allegiance to the Company's Government, and have in some instances fomented and excited disturbances in the country, and some are at this moment in actual hostility and rebellion against the Government, and it is expedient to use every precaution to avert such evils in all time to come. But whereas the Company's Government are in its justice disposed to pardon the former errors of the few (the crimes of open hostility and rebellion excepted) in consideration of the allegiance and commendable demeanour of the majority of the members of the different Kowilagams in Malabar.

Wherefore the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George has deemed it expedient to authorize and direct the Principal Collector in Malabar to frame and conclude new stipulations and agreements of one general form and tenor of the most solemn and binding nature to comprehend and provide for all and singular of the premises.

In pursuance therefore of the said determination of the Government in virtue of powers specially vested in me to this end by authority of the Right Honourable Governor in Council of Fort St. George, I, Thomas Warden, Principal Collector in the Province of Malabar, do hereby stipulate and agree in the name of the Honourable United East India Company with Kori-kote Mauna Wickram Rajah of the Nediyeruppa Suruwam for himself and his heirs for ever in manner and form following:—

Article I.—Clause 1st.—From and after the first day of Kanny 982 M. S. or 15th September 1806 the Malikhana or allowance to the several Rajeums, Kowilghums, and Chieftains in Malabar shall be calculated at 20 per cent upon the gross Jumma of the Land Revenue of the year 976 (after deducting

10 per cent. for charges) being the Jumma to which the amount of the assessment was reduced by a Proclamation under the signature of the Acting Principal Collector bearing date the 11th March 1803, corresponding with the 30th of Koombhun 978 (M. S). And in order to obviate all future doubts as to the true meaning and extent of this clause, the names of the districts, total amount of nett Jumma and Malikhana thereon payable to Korikote Mauna Wickram Rajah and the Nediye-ruppa Suruwum are hereunder specified.

Calicut, Pynaad, Ernaad, Kekapuram, Nedunganaad, Shernaad, Wadapuram, Chowghaut, Naduvootam:—

	Viray		
	Hoons.	Fns.	Cash.
Total nett Jumma after deducting 10 per cent.	2,33,785	6	36½
Amount of Malikhana being 20 per cent. on nett Jumma is	46,257	1	15
Making at 12½ Viray Fanams per Star Pagoda, Star Pagodas ...	37,760	39	0
Or Rupees	1,32,163	4	0

Clause 2nd.—All existing agreements made under the sanction of the different Administrations of the Province of Malabar relative to the distribution of the one-fifth share or Malikhana among the Rajahs, Members, and others of the several Rajeums, are hereby recognized and confirmed; and the several shares shall be recoverable by process in the Civil Courts of Judicature existing or which may be established in the Province of Malabar.

Clause 3rd.—In like manner it shall be competent to the several Rajahs, under sanction of the Company's Civil Officers having due authority to form separate stipulations with the members and families of the Rajeums, for the division of the shares, which shall, in this case, be recoverable in the Courts of Law as specified in clause the second of this Article.

Article 11.—The amount of the Malikhana as fixed by this instrument shall be payable in quarterly equal instalments at the Cutcherry of the Principal Collector, or of the Collector of the Zillah as the case may be.

Article III.—To ensure a due degree of subordination among the Junior members of the different Kowilgums and of the latter upon the principal one, the instalments of Malikhana shall be payable only to the receipt of the Senior Member of each Rajeum, unless it shall be otherwise determined by competent authority of the Company's Civil officers.

Article IV :—The Malikhana as hereby fixed shall be considered as the security for the good and dutiful behaviour towards the Company's Government of each and every member of the Rajeum or family to which it may now and hereafter be payable.

Clause 1st :—That is to say, if any Senior Rajah having the sole management of the Malikhana of his family shall at any time receive a summons from any Collector or Judge or other competent authority requiring the personal appearance of any subordinate member of his family to answer to any matter or thing which may be cognizable by the Criminal Courts in Malabar ; which matter or thing is to be distinctly specified in the summons, and if within a certain period, which shall be also specified in the summons, the said Senior Rajah shall not have delivered up the person of the said member of his family, or have given satisfactory proof of his inability to produce the said person, then the whole of the Malikhana, which would be payable to that Rajeum in all its branches, shall be forfeited to Government for ever.

Provided that any Junior member or family of such Rajeum may, upon establishing to the satisfaction of the local authority of Government his individual innocence of all concern in the matters charged against his relative and his inability to co-operate successfully in securing his person, make application through such local authority to Government for the special indulgence of a continuance of his or her share.

Clause 2nd.—In like manner when the shares have not been regularly distributed among the different Rajahstaans and Kowilgums by due authority as specified in clauses second and third of Article I, then such summons as aforesaid shall issue to the Senior Rajah of the particular Kolghum of which the person of any member may be required ; in this case the share

allotted to such Kolghum, and whatever else the members thereof may otherwise independantly receive of the Malikhana, shall be in the first instance sequestered in the event of an unsatisfactory return to such summons.

Clause 3rd.—But in the event of the summons requiring the person of the Senior or the managing Rajah of any Kowilgum, then it shall be directed to the Senior Member of the Suruwum or Rajeum, and the whole Malikhana thereof be the security as in clause first of this article.

Article V.—Counterparts of this instrument are signed and interchanged between Thomas Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar, on the part of Government, and Korikote Mauna Wickram Rajah of the Nediyruppa Suruwum for himself, and the members of his family, the Seniors of whom likewise sign the separate copy conjointly and separately for themselves and the members of their respective Kovilagums, it being contrary to the custom of the Suruwam for its Junior Members to put their signatures in the same paper with the Zamorin or Senior Rajah.

Signed and sealed, and delivered on this 15th day of the month of November in the year 1806 corresponding with the 2nd day of the month of Vrischigam of the Malabar year 982 at Calicut in the public Cutcherry of the Principal Collector, where no stamps are used, in the presence of—

S. MEEK, Civil Surgeon,
Malabar.

THOS. WARDEN,
Principal Collector in Malabar.

WM. ATKINS, Lt.-Col.,
IGNACIO DE LOYALA E GA.

Signature of the
ZAMORIN.

In a separate copy are the signatures

of ERALPAD or Second Rajah.

of EDATARALPAD or Fourth Rajah.

of the NEDIRIPA MOOTA ERADY TIRUMULPAD or

Fifth Rajah for himself and his elder brother, the MOONALPAD, Senior of Kerekey Kulote Kolgum, of the ELEA ERADY TIRUMULPAD, Senior of the Poodea Kulote Rajah.

The *Malikhana* of Rs. 1,32,163—4—0, granted by this agreement,¹ is now distributed and drawn as follows:—

(1) *The Stanams and the Kovilakams*

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
The Zamorin Rajah (excluding Rs. 9681-4-4 granted to the feudatories.)	59,981	15	8
The Eralpad Rajah	15,000	0	0
The Munalpad Rajah	7,000	0	0
The Edatralpad Rajah	4,500	0	0
The Nedutralpad Rajah	4,000	0	0
The Ampati Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti	4,000	0	0
The Kilakke Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti	9,000	0	0
The Putiya Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti	9,000	0	0
The Patinhare Kovilakam Valia Tampuratti	9,000	0	0

(2) *The Feudatories.*

The Punnattur Rajah	4,994	8	0
The Tirumanasseeri Nampiyatiri	1,028	9	4
The Kutiravattattu Nayar	982	0	0
The Venganad Nampati	859	0	0
The Manakkulam Rajah	457	2	4
The Alvancheri Tamprakkal	342	13	8
The Eliyangad Rajah	342	13	8
The Chittanur Rajah	228	9	4
The Tirunavayi Vadhyan	200	0	0
Tamme Panikkar	102	14	0
The Kotachirakkal Adhyan	85	11	8
Mangat Acchan	57	2	4
Total	1,32,163	4	0

¹ In 1857 the Government agreed with the Revenue Board and the Acting Collector of Malabar in holding that "*the allowances are perpetual during good conduct and are not removable at pleasure*".

(Minutes of Consultations, dated 30th May 1857)

APPENDIX III

Feudatories, Naduvalis, etc., invited to the Ariyittuvalcha.

Alampallam Grama Janam, Alipparampa Talacchannavar, Alliyur Nayar, Alur Janam, Alur Kanikal, Alvancheri Tamprakkal, Arimpara Nayar, Attimannoil Nayar, Avunhattu Nayar, Ayinkalattu Janam, Ayinikkutta Nampati or Cheralayam (a branch of the Talappilli dynasty), Ayirur Svarupam (a branch of the Cranganore dynasty), Ayyayira Prabhu Kartavu,

Bettettu Kovil,

Chalappurattu Nalamkur Nayar, Chemmanikkara Mutta Nayar, Chennamangalam Namputiri, Cheralayam, Cherukottu Janam, Cheruli Acchan, Cherumukkil Vaidikan, Chief of the English factory at Tellicherry, Chittannur Rajah (a branch of the Talappilli dynasty, Chittur Namputiri, Choli Teruvattu Pilla Chetti, Cochin (from 1937 onwards), Cranganore Rajah,

Edavanna Tirumulpad, Elampulasseri Nayar, Elangallur Svarupam (Idappalli Rajah), Eliyangattu Rajah, Etavalattavan (Attikkurissi),

Icebasseri Nayar, Irikkalikkara Adhikaran,

Kadattanad Rajah, (after 1500), Kakkad Karanavappad, Kallanur Karalar, Kanhur Namputirippad, Kannampara Nayar, Kannanur Patanayar, Karingattu Janam, Kariokar, Karippa Kovil, Kattumatattu Namputiri, Kavalappara Nayar, Kayamkulam Rajah, Kazi of Calicut, Keralapuram Grama Janam, Kilakke Nampati, Kilakkumpuram, Kilur Vatil Kappavar, Kinangat Namputiri, Kolamukkil Manalar, Kolappalli Nayar, Kolattiri (Chirakkal Rajah), Kolikkottu Koya, Kolikkottu Talacchannavar, Kolukkolli Nayar, Koduvayur Janam, Kotaehirakkal Adhyan, Kottayam (Puranattukara) Rajah, Kottil Nampati, Kottol Patanayakam, Kunisseei Grama Janam, Kurumpiyatiri (Kurumbranad Rajah), Kutallur Grama Janam, Kutallur Namputiri, Kutiravattattu Nayar, Kuttali Nayar,

Malappuram Paranampi, Malayariyattu Nayar, Manakulam Rajah (a branch of the Talappilli dynasty), Mangat Acchan, Maniyur Nampati, Manjeri Karanavappad, Mankara Nayar, Manniladattil Nayar, Mata Svarupam (a branch of the Cochin dynasty), Matattumkil Nayar, Mukkatakkattu Nayar, Mulanbur Elaya Nayar, Mulsanbur Patanayar, Mutati Kuttam (Drummers), Mutuvallur Nayattutaya Nayar, Montampalam Mussad (Tinayancheri Elayutu),

Nallur Janam, Nandavanattil Nampi, Nattimangalam Grama Janam, Natuvakkattu Eradi, Natuvattam Eight Grama Janams, Naykara Namputirippad, Nedunganad Patanayar, Nileswaram Rajah, Nocchur Grama Janam,

Olukil Menon, Ollur Janam, Otalur Janam,

Palayancheri Valutaya Nayar, Pallassena Grama Janam, Pallavur Grama Janam, Palli Musaliar, Palli Patanayar, Palliyil Patiri (Roman Catholic Bishop), Panamanna Janam, Pantalalam Rajah, Pantalanikal, Pappu Kovil, Paracebhattampatta Nayar, Parakkulam Grama Janam, Parappalli Nayakao, Parappu Kovil, Pararur Janam, Pararur Karalar, Parekkattu Nayar, Periyapuram Janam, Pattiyil Emmar, Payilur-Panangatiri Grama Janam, Periyantamukkil Kilakke Nampati and Patinhare Nampati, Perumanna Janam, Perur Namputirippad, Ponnimala Janam, Pcmulli Namputiri, Punnasseri Nampi, Punnattur Rajah (a branch of the Talappilli dynasty), Putugrama Janam,

Rayiranallur Paranampi,

Sarkara Svarupam (a branch of the Cranganore dynasty), Taccharakkavu Eralan (Nilambur Tirumulpad), Taceboli Kuttam (Drummers), Taikkattu Musead, Talakkolattur Janam, Talayur Mussad, Taliparamba Temple Head-Priest, Tamme Panikkar, Tarakkal Eroma Menon, Tekkankur Rajah, Tekkankuttil Tekke Nayar and Vatakke Nayar, Tevarkulam Grama Janam, Tinayancheri Elayutu, Tirumanasseri Nampiyatiri, Tirunavayi Janam, Tirunavayi Vadhyan, Tiruttiyattu Arivar, Trichur Janam, Trichur Vadhyan, Trikan-

tiyur Janam, Trippappur (Travancore) Svarupam, Tunnara Chakravarti,

Ullanad Kaymal,

Valayur Mutta Eradi, Valu Kovil, Vani Teruvattu Pilla Chetti, Varakkal Paranampi, Varikkumancheri Namputiri, Vatakkankur Rajah, Vatakkumpuram, Vayyavinattu Nampati, Veliyannur Kuttam (Drummers), Vellatri (Arargot) Svarupam (from 1937), Velluvangattu Pattar, Venganad Nampati, Vengaseri Janam, Vilayannur Grama Janam, Vittikkattu Nayar, Viyyur Kuttam (Drummers).

APPENDIX IV: LETTERS TO CALICUT, 1759

From the Royal Camp at Vayiranallur Palace :—

(1)

To Arakkam patta :—

We have decided to leave for Calicut at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 13th day of *Kanni*, 935 M. E. We will arrive at Ampati at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 18th inst. Inform "Mother" and be ready with whatever is to be made there.

(2)

To the Clerks of the Port Office and Vayitti Pattar :—

We have decided to leave for Calicut at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 13th day of *Kanni*, 935 M. E. Therefore be ready with baize, banners, awnings, and whatever else has to be made at the harbour. We will arrive at Ampati on Monday, the 18th inst. Therefore be ready with whatever is to be made at the harbour.

(3)

To the Clerks of the Palace Office and Vayitti Pattar :—

Leaving for Calicut at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 13th day of *Kanni*, 935 M. E., We will arrive at Ampati at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 18th inst. By that time cause to be repaired whatever is to be repaired at Our Royal Palace.

(4)

To Cherokantan Sankaran :—

Starting from here at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 13th day of *Kanni*, 935 M. E., We will arrive at Calicut at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 18th inst. By the time We arrive there be ready with the baize that is to be made at Koviltiruttu.

5

To The Kazi, The Koya, the Chief Pilot, and The Musaliar of the Mosque :—

We have decided to start from here at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 13th day of *Kanni*, 935 M. E., and arrive at Calicut at the sign of *Dhanu* on the 18th inst. Therefore, by the time We arrive at Kallayi, you should, as in times past, be in attendance there for *Akampati* (escort) duty.

APPENDIX V : THE ZAMORIN'S ESTATE (A. D. 1938)

(a) *Cherikkals* (Domain lands)

(Kurumbranad Taluk)

(1) Kollam. (2) Chaliyattu Vatakke Kara. (3) Kovilakam Cherupatam. (4) Karippur West and (5) East. (6) Vatakkara Svarupam. (7) Chengottur Kalam. (8) Kolkalam. (9) Talakkappu Kalam. (10) Villur Kalam. (11) Kuriyattu Kalam. (12) Puttur Kalam.

(Ponnani Taluk)

(13) Tirunavayi. (14) Pattayapura. (15) Periyartamukku. (16) Kalati. (17) Ponnani. (18) Madattumkilnad. (19) Koypamatham. (20) Chavakkad.

(Valluvanad Taluk)

(21) Peratiyur. (22) Irupattirayiram North and (23) South. (24) Chunangad. (25) Valiyataka. (26) Cheriya-taka. (27) Atalur. (28) Oranad Karapuram.

(Palghat Taluk)

(29) Mankara - Kottayi. (30) Nenmini. (31) Tenkurissi. (32) Mankara - Pariyasseri. (33) Santirutti. (34) Manhalur.

(b) *Devasvams* (Temples)

(Kurumbranad Taluk)

(1) Kenhilasseri.

(Calicut Taluk)

(2) Puttur. (3) Bilattikkulam. (4) Varakkal. (5) Talakkolattur. (6) Tali. (7) Srivalayanad. (8) Perumanna.

(Ernad Taluk)

(9) Nerumkayita Kotta. (10) Trikkalamgotu. (11) Pantalur. (12) Kotturputtara Kovil. (13) Trikkulam.

(Ponnani Taluk)

(14) Trikkantiyur. (15) Vettattu Kavu. (16) Alattiyur Perumtru kovil. (17) Tirunavayi. (18) Triprangotu. (19) Kotikkunnu. (20) Trittala. (21) Panniyur. (22) Guruvayur.

(Valluvanad Taluk)

(23) Rayiranallur. (24) Panamanna. (25) Chennapuram. (26) Enanganamkurissi.

(Palghat Taluk)

(27) Paruttippalli. (28) Nenmeni Perumtrukovil. (29) Alakatta.

(c) *Brahmasvams* (Brahmin endowments)

(1) Keraladhisvarapuram and (2) Trikkantiyur in Ponnani, (3) Chunangad in Valluvanad, and (4) Talur in Palghat.

(d) Annual nett *Malikhana* (after payments to the feudatories and hereditary officers):—Rs. 59,981—15—8.

The Eralpad's Estate

(a) *Cherikkals*:—Tenkara, Karimpula, Vilayanchattanur, and Paratti.

(b) *Devasvams*:—Karimpula, Mammiyur and Perumgottukalam

(c) *Malikhana*:—Rs. 15,000.

The Munalpad's Estate

- (a) *Cherikkals*:—Karamata, Panangattiri, Vilayur and Por-kalam.
 (b) *Malikhana*:—Rs. 7,000.
-

The Edatralpad's Estate

- (a) *Cherikkals*:—Erumayur and Edatranadu.
 (b) *Devasvam*:—Kaitali.
 (c) *Malikhana*:—Rs. 5,000.
-

The Nedutralpad's Estate.

Malikhana:—Rs. 4,500.

The pension originally allotted to each of the three Valia Tampurattis for the maintenance of their respective Kovilakams was Rs. 4,500. As the Kovilakams expanded, this was raised, on their representation, supported by the recommendation of the Collector, to Rs. 6,000 in 1829, to Rs. 7,500 in 1844, and Rs. 9,000 in 1856, the *Stanis* making proportionate contributions for the common good out of their *Malikhanas*, which were granted in 1806 for the maintenance not only of themselves but also of the Kovilakams. (Board of Revenue's Letters d. 5-10-1829 and 29-1-1844, and Collector's Letter No. 117, d. 12-9-1856).

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

It is not easy to prepare a chronological table of the Zamorins, giving the dates of their accession and death, beginning from the founder of the Svarupam. For, in the first place, we have at present no data for the period prior to the advent of Vasco da Gama. And though from A. D. 1500 onwards we are not handicapped by lack of materials, we are by no means at the end of our difficulties. For our sources, consisting as they are of *Granthavaris* of *Tiruvantalis* and *Ariyittuvalchas*, and references by indigenous and foreign writers, do not, except in a very few instances, mention the names of the Zamorins. And in these few instances the names happen to be a Manavikrama or a Manaveda or a Viraraya. It was not till 1828 that pet names began to find a place in official records as a means of identification. Till then we can distinguish them only by the date or place of their death, though we can also identify some of them by the asterism under which they were born.

De Couto was the first to attempt the construction of a chronological scheme. But he was baffled by the fact that Manavikrama, Manaveda and Viraraya were the only names assumed by them. Writing in A. D. 1610, he says:— "These Zamorins cannot take other names than any of the following: Manuchen, Mana Bequereven, and Vira Nainon. This is the reason why a catalogue of the Zamorins cannot be composed. All the same it is known from the *Olas* of Calicut that from the time of Manuchen Herari, the founder of the Kingdom of Calicut, 1263 years ago, there have been in all 98 Zamorins, of whom some reigned more than twenty-five years and none less than three."

Thus, according to de Couto, the Svarupam must have been founded in A. D. 347, not far removed from the traditional date, A. D. 325. But, in view of the date of Cheraman Perumal's ascension, based upon the era bearing his name, de Couto's date, in spite of the *Olas* referred to by him, seems too early.

Further, the average length of a reign, calculated on the basis of the 25 reigns covering 200 years from 1560 to 1760, is 8 years. Multiplying it by 98, we get 784, as the number of years that might be supposed to have probably elapsed between the founding of the Svarupam and the year in which de Couto wrote. Subtracting this from A. D. 1610, we arrive at A. D. 826 as the initial year of the first Manavikrama, which strangely enough coincides also with the beginning of the Cheraman Perumal era.

Column (1) gives the number of the Zamorin reckoned from the founder, based upon de Couto's statement that there had been 98 Zamorins before the Zamorin reigning in 1610; Column (2) the beginning and end of the reign according to the Christian era; and Column (3) the important events. The letters K. C. stand for the Kilakke Kovilakam, P. K. for the Putiya Kovilakam, and P. C. for the Patinhare Kovilakam. The dates of the death of the Zamorins, indicated by the letter D, are based on the evidence of the *Granthavaris*, which show that Katancheri describes the exploits of only the more important Zamorins of the seventeenth century.

It will be seen from the following summary that the original dynasty came to an end with the 114th Zamorin. The 115th Zamorin, the first of the second dynasty, was the oldest of the princes adopted from Nileswaram in 1706. The second and third of this new dynasty were almost wholly engrossed in external wars, the most important domestic events being the *Mamakam* of 1755, the last of these grand festivals held in Kerala, and the *Tulabharam* ceremony of 1757 performed by the 116th Zamorin at Trichur, and the restoration of the Panniyur Nampisans to their original caste by his successor, the 117th Zamorin, in A. D. 1760.

(1)	(2)	(3)
		<i>The First Dynasty</i>
	324—325	The traditional date for the founding of the Svarupam (p. 75).
	347	Couto's date for the accession of the first Zamorin (p. 76n.)
	824—825	The first year of the Kollam era (p. 76).
1	826—827	The first year of the Cherman Perumal era and of the reign of the first Zamorin (pp. 76—79).
27	1034—1042	The founding of Calicut (p. 83).
	1101—1200	War with the Vellatri for the <i>Mamakam</i> (pp. 91 ff.).
	1250—1475	Subjugation of Kerala from Kollam to Quilon (pp. 121 ff.).
65	133—91347	Ibu Batuta at Calicut (1342—1347) (p. 89).
73	1402—1410	Ma Huan at Calicut (1403).
78	1442—1450	The embassy of Abdur Razak (1442) (p. 88).
81	1466—1474	(Mana) Vikrama, the Great, and Uddanda (p. 299).
82	1474—1482	Manaveda (p. 301).
84	1495—1500	The arrival of da Gama (1498) (pp. 138 ff.) and Cabral (1500) (pp. 150 ff.).
85	1500—1513	The invasions of Cochin (1503—1504) (pp. 171 ff.).
86	1513—1522	Treaty with the Portuguese (1513), and the erection of the Portuguese fort at Calicut (1514) (pp. 194—195).
87	1522—1529	The expulsion of the Portuguese from Calicut (1525) (p. 200).
88	1529—1531	The building of the Portuguese fort at Chaliyam (1531) (p. 203).
89	1531—1540	War with the Portuguese (p. 203).
90	1540—1548	Treaty with the Portuguese (1540) (p. 204).
91	1548—1560	Adoption of the chief of Bardela (1550), and the war with the Portuguese (pp. 204 ff.).
92	1560—1562	Viraraya.
93	1572—1574	Manavikrama. The expulsion of the Portuguese from Chaliyam (1571) (p. 207). D. on April 24, 1574.

(1)	(2)	(3)
94	1574--1578	War with the Portuguese.
95	1578--1588	The Portuguese allowed a factory at Ponnani (1584) (p. 209).
96	1588--1597	The settlement of the Portuguese at Calicut (1591) p. (209). D. at Kollam Anantapuram on November 16, 1597.
97	1597--1599	War with Kunhali (1598--1599) (p. 212). D. at Calicut on December 10, 1599.
98	1599--1604	Capture of Kunhali's stronghold (1600) (p. 213).
99	1604--1617	Siege of Cranganore (1604--1617) and treaties with the Dutch (1604 and 1608) and the English (1615) (p. 214).
100	1617--1627	Manavikrama. D. at Calicut on April 10, 1627.
101	1627--1630	
102	1630--1637	
103	1637--1648	Manavikrama <i>Saktin Tampuran</i> , the uncle of the author of the <i>Krishnanatakam</i> . (p. 215) D. at Trichur on November 28, 1648.
104	1648--1655	<i>Tiruvonam Tirunal</i> (p. 215). D. at Trichur on August 29, 1655.
105	1655--1658	Manaveda, the author of the <i>Krishnanatakam</i> . D. at Trichur on February 15, 1658 (p. 215).
106	1658--1662	<i>Asvati Tirunal</i> . The expulsion of the Portuguese from Cranganore (1662) (p. 216). D. at Tiruvanchikkulam on August 5, 1662.
107	1662--1666	<i>Purattam Tirunal</i> . The expulsion of the Portuguese from Cochin (1663) (p. 219). D. at Trikkavu on June 5, 1666.
108	1666--1668	War with the Dutch (p. 222). D. at Tiruvanchikkulam in December 1668.
109	1668--1671	The destruction of the Cheraman Sword (1670) (p. 223).
110	1671--1684	<i>Utrattati Tirunal</i> . Cession of Chetwai to the Dutch (1678) (p. 223).

(1)	(2)	(3)
111	1684—1705	<i>Bharani Tirunal</i> , the terror of the Dutch. Two <i>Mamakams</i> (1694 and 1695) (pp. 224 ff.).
112	1705—1711	Adoptions from Nileswaram (1706 and 1707) (p. 228).
113	1711—1729	The Dutch War (1715—1718) (p. 228 ff.).
114	1729—1741	Manavikrama. (p. 232). D. at Calicut on April 4, 1741.
<i>Second dynasty</i>		
115	1741—1746	(K. C.) (p. 233). D. at Trichur on February 12, 1746.
116	1746—1758	(P. K.) The Dutch War (1753—1758). D. at Trichur on May 7, 1758 (p. 234).
117	1758—1766	(K. C.) Wars with Travancore and Haidar (pp. 236 ff.). D. at Calicut on April 27, 1766.
118	1766—1788	(P. K.) D. at Kunnattur.
119	1788—1798	(P. K.) D. at Guruvayur on March 28, 1798.
120	1798—1816	(P. K.) Agreement of 1806 (p. 206.)
121	1816—1825	(P. K.) Brahmachari.
122	1826—1828	(P. C.) Kariasthan Tampuran
123	1828—1845	(P. K.) Ettanettan Tampuran.
124	1845—1848	(P. K.)
125	1848—1856	(K. C.) Kuttunni <i>alias</i> Saktan Tampuran, the author of the <i>Keralacharitraparisodhana</i> (Mss).
126	1856—1859	(K. C.) Valia Ettan Tampuran.
127	1859—1868	(P. C.) Ettanettan Tampuran.
128	1868—1892	(P. K.) Kutti Ettan <i>alias</i> Sir Manavikrama Zamorin Maharajah Bahadur, F. M. U., K. C. S. I. The Zamorin's College founded (1877—1878.)
129	1899—1900	(K. C.) Cheria Kunhunni Tampuran.
130	1900	(P. K.) Cheriyettan Tampuran.
131	1900—1904	(P. K.) Kutti Annaman Tampuran.
132	1904—1909	(P. K.) Uuni Anujan Tampuran.
133	1909—1912	(K. C.) Kunbi Anujan Tampuran.

(1)	(2)	(3)
134	1912—1915	(P. C.) Vidvan Ettan Tampuran. The Zamorin's Estate placed under the Court of Wards (1915).
135	1915—1928	(P. C.) Kuttunni Tampuran, Maharajah Zamorin Maharajah Bahadur, who freely fed the fugitives from the rebel area during the Moplah Rebellion (1921—1922). Rendition of the Estate (1927).
136	1928—1931	(P. C.) Anujan Kunhunni Tampuran.
137	1931—1937	(K. C.) Cheriyanujan <i>alias</i> Manavedan Rajah, Retired District Judge. Construction of the Guravaryurappan Buildings at the Zamorin's College.
138	1937	(K. C.) The <i>Ariyittuvalcha</i> of <i>Sri Mulam Tirunal</i> Kuttiettann <i>alias</i> Manavikrama Zamorin Maharajah was celebrated with great pomp and <i>eclat</i> at the Kilakke Kovilakam Palace at Kottakkal on September 7, 1937. Publication of <i>The Zamorins of Calicut</i> (1938).

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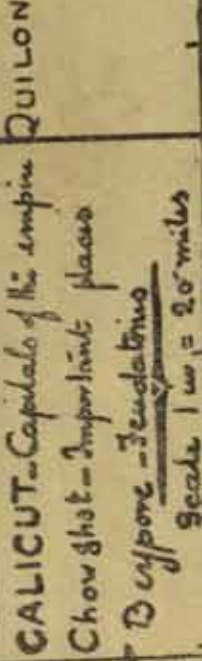
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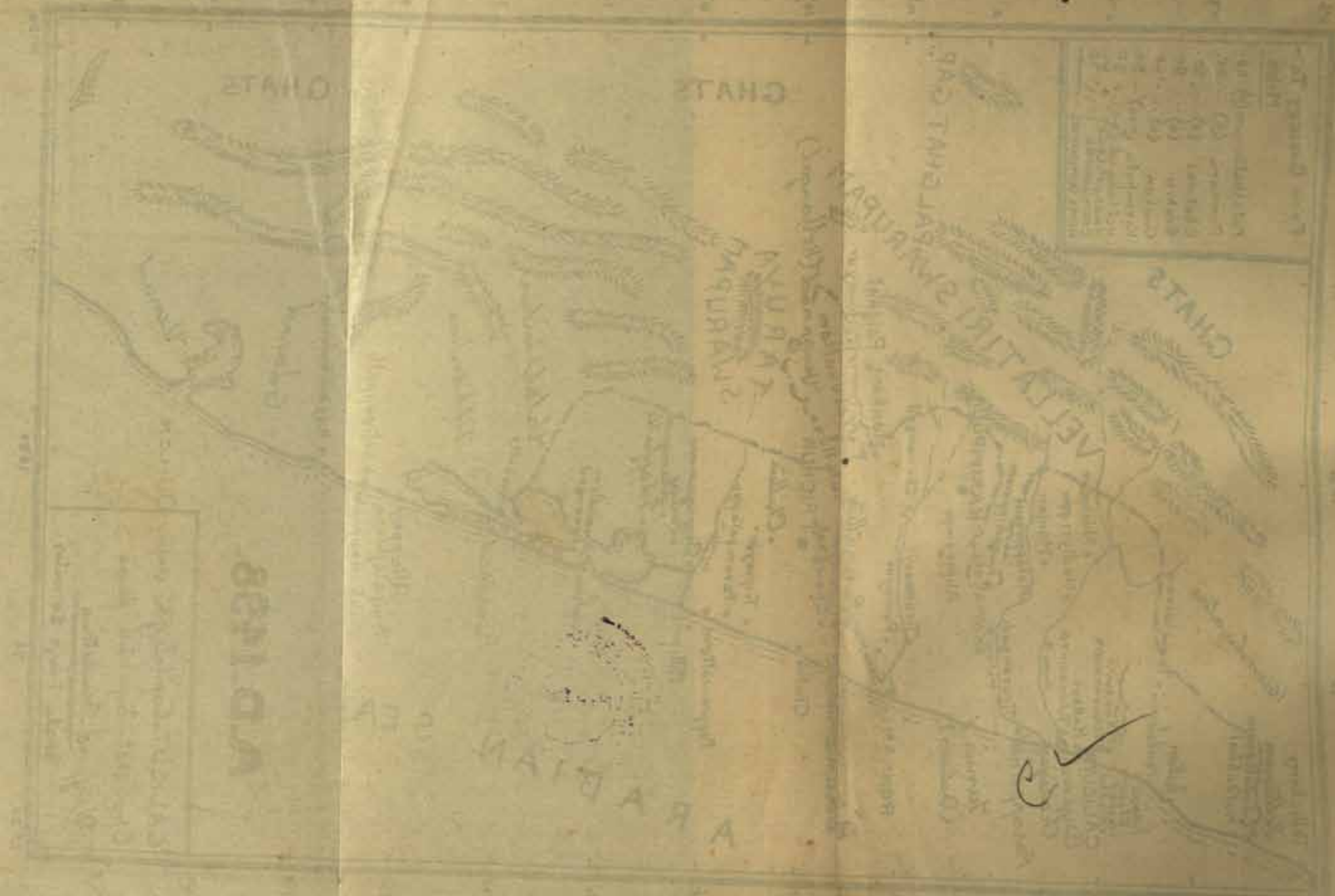
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